

THE LIFE AND EXPLOITS

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

B C 354-322

Marble Head in the British Museum
Found at Alexandria

THE LIFE AND EXPLOITS

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BEING

A SERIES OF TRANSLATIONS
OF THE ETHIOPIC HISTORIES OF ALEXANDER BY THE
PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES AND OTHER WRITERS,

WITH INTRODUCTION, ETC.

BY

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W. DRUGULIN, ORIENTAL PRINTER, LEIPZIG (GERMANY).

THIS BOOK

IS

BY PERMISSION DEDICATED TO

LADY MEUX, OF THEOBALD'S PARK

TO WHOSE MUNIFICENCE THE ADMIRERS

OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT OWE THE PUBLICATION OF THE

ETHIOPIC HISTORIES AND ACCOUNTS OF HIS LIFE,

TRAVELS, AND EXPLOITS.

"Now pais holdith and leteth cheste
"And ye shole here a noble jeste,
"Of Alisaundre, theo riche kyng,
"That dude by his maistres techyng;
"And overcom, also Y fynde,
"Darie of Pers, and Pore of Ynde,
"And mony other whyt and heynde
"Into theo Est worldes eynde;
"And theo wondres, of worm and best
"Deliciouse hit is to lest:
"Yef ye wolen sitte stille,
"Ful feole Y wol yow telle."

Weissmann, *Alexander*, Bd. ii. S. 469.

"His Body was beautiful, and well proportion'd; his Mind brisk "and active; his Courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo "Hardships, and willing to meet Dangers; ever ambitious of Glory, "and a strict observer of Religious Duties. As to those Pleasures "which regarded the Body, he shew'd himself indifferent; as to the "Desires of the Mind, insatiable. In his Counsels, he was sharp-sighted, "and cunning; and pierc'd deep into doubtful Matters, by the Force "of his natural Sagacity. In marshalling, arming, and governing an "Army, he was thoroughly skill'd; and famous for exciting his Soldiers "with Courage, and animating them with Hopes of Success, as also "in dispelling their private fears, by his own Example of Magnanimity. "He always enter'd upon desperate Attempts, with the utmost Resolution "and Vigour, and was ever deligent in taking any Advantage of his "Enemies' Delay, and falling upon them unawares. He was a most "strict Observer of his Treaties; notwithstanding which, he was "never taken at a Disadvantage, by any Craft or Perfidy of his Enemies. "He was sparing in his Expences, for his own private Pleasures, but in "the distribution of his Bounty to his Friends, Liberal and magnificent."

Arrian, *History of Alexander's Expedition*, Rooke's Translation,
Vol. ii. p. 196.

CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

The object of this work is to present to students and lovers of the legendary history of Alexander the Great the various histories of this marvellous man which are extant in the Ethiopic language, together with English translations of the same and some necessary notes.

Speaking generally, the collection of texts here printed for the first time consists of the Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes; the Ethiopic versions of the Arabic histories of Alexander by Al-Makîn and Abû Shâker; the Ethiopic version of the Hebrew history of Alexander by Joseph ben-Gorion; a short account of Alexander's death and of the utterances of the sages thereon; the "Christian Romance", which is probably an original Ethiopian work; and an account of the Vision of Abbâ Gerasimus. The arrangement of the histories in this book represents, I believe, the order in which they were translated or compiled.

With one exception, *i. e.*, the "Christian Ro-

mance", I have been obliged to print each of these histories from a single, and comparatively modern manuscript; every student of MSS. will know how much harder the labour of the editor and translator is made by the lack of duplicate copies of texts. In printing these histories I have tried to reproduce the text of the MSS. as closely as possible; only some trifling clerical errors have been rectified without comment. Probable emendations and corrections of typographical errors are relegated to the notes to the translation. Further study of Arabic legends and histories of Alexander such as those contained in Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich, Nos. 7366, 7367 and 7368, would, no doubt, have added to the list of emendations, but these together with the necessary remarks would have swollen to undue limits an already bulky work.

The English translation has been made as literal as possible, and all added words have been enclosed between brackets [ ].

A perusal of the Ethiopic histories of Alexander will shew that they are not mere translations of the Arabic texts which the scribes had before them, but that they reflect largely the Christian Ethiopian idea of what manner of man an all-powerful king and conqueror should be. The historical facts and legends connected with the birth, and life, and

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death of Alexander were freely drawn upon by the translator and scribe, but in their hands they became a means not only of instruction, but also of edification for the reader. In their works the story of Alexander's victory in the chariot races disappears, for the Oriental never truly appreciated athletics; Greek gods are transformed into Old Testament personages such as Enoch and Elijah; speeches of heathen kings are couched in Biblical language; Philip of Macedon figures as a martyr, and Alexander himself becomes a Christian teacher, having a profound knowledge of Old Testament history, and is eventually described as a saint who was worthy to receive revelations from the Divine Spirit of God Almighty, and to preach the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection. Never was heathen king or profane history so thoroughly transformed. As the various Oriental versions of the legendary history of Alexander become available for general study, it will be possible to separate fact from fiction, to harmonize differences, and also to classify the various legends and trace them to their respective sources.

Since the publication of the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes by myself in 1889, two important works on the Alexander story by Prof. Noeldeke and Dr. Ausfeld have appeared. In *Bei-*

träge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans[1] Prof. Noeldeke discusses in his characteristic masterly manner the Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Persian and Arabic versions, and ably shews how each is related to the other, and how certain variations in the narrative have arisen. No writer before him was able to control, by knowledge at first hand, the statements of both the Aryan and Semitic versions; his work is therefore of unique value. Would that he would add to our obligations by publishing a translation of the Armenian version of the Alexander story! Following the same system Dr. Ausfeld made an exhaustive examination of the non-genuine portions of the oldest Greek traditional rendering of the legends of Alexander,[2] and the results which he obtained from his study of the Greek texts confirm those of Prof. Noeldeke.

While the pages of this book were passing through the press, on July 4th, 1894, death removed from our midst the veteran Ethiopic scholar Prof.

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[1] See *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.* Philosophisch-Historische Classe, Bd. xxxviii. Wien, 1890.

[2] See *Zur Kritik des Griechischen Alexanderromans. Untersuchungen über die unechten Teile der ältesten Überlieferung.* Karlsruhe, 1894.

Dr. C. F. August Dillmann, who had, from time to time during the preparation of my work, afforded me with characteristic kindness the benefit of his unique knowledge and judgment in all matters connected with Ethiopic literature. The published works of this remarkable man, who was as learned as he was great, and as modest as he was learned, testify to the depth and breadth of his scholarship and knowledge, and no amount of unworthy, carping criticism will diminish aught of his universal reputation, or alter the fact that every student of this generation owes whatever knowledge of Ethiopic he may possess entirely to Dillmann's lexicographical and grammatical labours.[1]

My thanks are due to the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, K. P. etc., Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Paris; and to Sir Thomas H. Sanderson, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., Under Secretary of State; and to Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K. C. B., Principal Librarian of the British Museum; and to M. Léopold Delisle, Administrator General of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for their kind offices in obtaining for me the loan of the Ethiopic MS. containing Abû Shâker's life of Alexander and the Vision of Abbâ Gerasimus. To Mr. A. S. Murray,

[1] See Baudissin's *August Dillmann*, Leipzig, 1895.

LL. D., Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, I am indebted for superintending the reproduction on copper of the fine head of Alexander the Great in the British Museum. Thanks are due also to W. Drugulin of Leipzig, and to his manager Dr. Chamizer, for the care which they have taken in printing the book.

To Lady Meux of Theobalds Park, Herts, I owe entirely the publication of this work. Several years ago whilst preparing an edition of the Syriac version of the Alexander story, I copied the Ethiopic versions which are preserved in the British Museum, hoping that as, in many particulars, the Syriac and Ethiopic versions agree, I might be able to publish them together. The bulk of the work was, however, found to be so great that the idea had to be abandonned, and I was only able to give a brief *résumé* of the work in the introduction to my *History of Alexander*. The copies of the texts which I had made had lain in my drawer for ten years when Lady Meux offered to defray the whole cost of publishing them, together with English translations and notes; this offer was joyfully accepted, and the present work is the result of her munificence. Further, Lady Meux, thinking it possible that there might

be many who, while wishing to read the translations, would have no need for the Ethiopic texts, also ordered five hundred copies of the translation only to be printed on small paper, in addition to the two hundred and fifty copies of the large paper edition in two volumes, which are intended for private circulation. To her, then, it is my pleasant duty to offer my most grateful thanks.

LONDON, December 2, 1895.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

INTRODUCTION.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHIOPIC MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE LIFE AND EXPLOITS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

i. The text of the Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes printed in this volume is edited from a manuscript in the British Museum (Oriental 826), which has been very briefly described by the late Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year* 1847, London, 1877, p. 294, No. ccclxxxix. It is of vellum, about 11⅝ in. by 7½, and contains 148 leaves.[1] Each page contains two columns of from 24 to 26 lines of bold writing. Parts of many of the letters of the first few pages are effaced, owing to the leaves having been pressed together before the ink was dry. The first few words of each section and the title are written in red, and certain portions of the MS. seem to have been copied by another hand. The MS. is bound in stout wooden boards covered in leather stamped with a cross and border formed of annules; the

Description of MSS.

[1] For an account of the finding of the MS. see the English translation, pp. 1, 2.

inside of the boards is lined with striped bright coloured silk. From the colophon, (see fol. 147*a*.) we learn that the manuscript was written at the expense of one Abraham, who, through the prayers of Alexander the king and of all the saints and martyrs, hopes to obtain mercy, and to escape hell, and to take up his place at the right hand [of Christ], together with the Twelve Apostles, at His second Advent. The age of the MS. from which this copy was made we have no means of ascertaining, but judging from the writing there is little doubt that our manuscript is the work of the XIXth century. Of Abraham, for whom the MS. was copied, we know nothing, and it is not quite clear how the volume came to be in king Theodore's Treasury at Maḳdalâ; as it is well known, however, that this monarch intended to build a church in honour of the Saviour of the World in his city, it is most probable that the "History of Alexander" was one of the many MSS. which he seized upon to form a library for his church when completed.

Description of MSS.

The reader will find the text faulty in many places, and words and names are spelt differently even in the same page; in places, too, there are obviously omissions. Elsewhere it would seem as if the scribe, having copied a sentence, became dissatisfied with it, and then copied it again with the addition of some explanatory words. An excellent idea of the general appearance of the text will be gained from Plate I.

ii. The History of Alexander by Jirjis ibn al-'Amîd Abu'l-Yâsir, more commonly known as Al-Makîn, is taken from the MS. of his "Universal "History" preserved in the British Museum; see Orient. 813, and Wright, *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 293. This manuscript is of vellum, about 13⅝ in. by 11⅝, and contains 188 leaves, and each page contains three columns of 32 lines; it is written in a fine hand of the XVIIth century. This handsome manuscript originally belonged to one Kesâda Giyûrgîs, but it was found with hundreds of other MSS. in the Treasury of King Theodore. Description of MSS.

iii. The History of Alexander by Abû Shâker Petrus, ibn Abi'l-Karam ibn al-Muhaḍḍib, more commonly known as Ibn al-Râhib or Walda Manakôs, is taken from a fine Ethiopic MS. (No. 46) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; this MS. has been fully described by Zotenberg, *Catalogue des MSS. Éthiopiens*, Paris, 1877, p. 243 ff.[1] The British Museum possesses no copy of this extract, for the MS. formerly numbered Orient. 819, written in the reign of Iyâsû I., A. D. 1682—1706, was restored by the Trustees of the British Museum to Prince Kasa, subsequently crowned as King John, on the 14th of December, 1872; see Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 297, No. cccxci.

[1] For Latin versions of Ibn al-Râhib's History see Abraham Ecchellensis, *Chronicon Orientale*, Paris, 1651; and Assemânî, J. S., *Chronicon Orientale Petri Rahebi Egyptii*, Venice, 1729.

Description of MSS.

iv. The History of Alexander by Joseph ben-Gorion is taken from a manuscript containing the Ethiopic version of his "History of the Jews", preserved in the British Museum; see Orient. 822, and Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 288, No. ccclxxviii. This manuscript is of vellum, about 9¾ in. by 8⅜, and contains 136 leaves, and each page contains two columns of 24 or 25 lines; it was probably written in the XVIIth century.

v. The History of the Death of Alexander by an anonymous writer is taken from a manuscript preserved in the British Museum; see Add. 24,990, and Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 12, No. xiii.

vi. The Christian Romance of the Life of Alexander is taken from a manuscript preserved in the British Museum; see Orient. 827, and Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 294, No. cccxc. The variant readings are taken from the Paris MS. No. 146; see Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 243 ff.

vii. The History of the Blessed Men who lived in the days of Jeremiah the prophet, and the account of the Vision of Abbâ Gerâsimus are taken from the Paris MS. No. 146; see Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 243.

THE ORIGIN AND TRAVELS OF THE ALEXANDER STORY.

The Ethiopic histories of Alexander the Great consist of a large mass of historical facts, some of which are, however, much distorted, and of a series of legends and traditions which refer to several heroes, both historical and mythical, and are the common heritage of the Semitic peoples of the East. Of the legends and traditions a great number concern Alexander alone, but some, as will be noticed later, were current in the Arabian peninsula from a remote antiquity—now their survival is a matter to be marvelled at—and were only grouped round him by his admiring biographers and friends. That this should be so is only natural, for if all history be searched no character will be found therein whose life and deeds have appealed so strongly to the admiration and sympathy of all nations as that of Alexander the Great. His personal bravery, the hardness which he endured as a soldier, his indefatigable energy, his military skill, his judgment, his magnanimity, his travels and conquests, and his tragic death, literally made all the world wonder; and that the actual deeds and events of his life should, very soon after his death, become overlaid by a

History and legends of Alexander.

mass of fictitious statements of every degree of wildness, is only what was to be expected.

Egypt the original home of the Alexander story.

Though the conquered nations of Western Asia, Persia, and India might view his warlike successes with wonder, and might even bless the magnanimous warrior, it is hardly likely that their writers and scribes would hasten to record his history, whereby they would also incidentally describe their own national defeat; to these countries, then, we must not look for the original Alexander story. Similarly, we must not look to the states of Greece for it, because at the death of Alexander the memory of their subjugation and the victorious deeds which he wrought for the glory of Macedon would be too fresh in the minds of their peoples. One country only could be the birthplace of the Alexander story, and that country was Egypt. Some hundreds of years before Alexander came to Egypt the influence, and civilization, and language of the Greeks had found their way there, and on his arrival in the country Alexander found the people, at least those living in the Delta, unwilling to meet him in battle; more than this, they welcomed him as one who could help them against their bitter foes the Persians, for, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes (Bk. I. 26) he had under his command a force of about 150,000 men. Further, when after Alexander's death the Egyptians considered that he had founded the city of Alexandria, which had already become a source of wealth for their country, that he had acknowledged the god

Amen-Rā as his father and had shewn reverence unto the ancient gods of Egypt, and that he had utterly beaten the Persians, the popular feeling of something like sorrow mingled with gratitude would straightway express itself in laudatory biographies of their deliverer adorned with Oriental metaphor and hyperbole. Alexander was a conqueror unlike any other known to the Egyptians and the nations around. When their own victorious kings set out on their military expeditions they left the countries through which they passed filled with devastation and death; cities were burnt to the ground, and their inhabitants were carried away into slavery, and a successful war in the conqueror's eyes meant in many cases utter ruin for the conquered. And the Egyptian was as ruthless as his less cultured neighbour, for as far back as the VIth dynasty Una, the officer who led several expeditions in the remote countries to the south of Egypt, in describing the deeds of his soldiers said, "The "soldiers marched in peace and ploughed up the "land of those who live upon the sand (*i. e.*, the "dwellers in the desert); the soldiers marched in "peace and laid it waste; the soldiers marched "in peace and overthrew the fenced cities thereof; "the soldiers marched in peace and cut down the "fig trees and vines; the soldiers marched in peace "and cast fire among the tribes; the soldiers "marched in peace and slaughtered the people "by myriads and myriads; the soldiers marched "in peace and carried away countless multitudes

Unique character of Alexander.

Methods of Egyptian warfare.

"of living captives."[1] The terrible state of a country through which such soldiers had marched "in peace" may be readily imagined. The accounts of the wars carried on in Western Asia by the kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties are full of deeds of mutilation and cruelty, and of records of ruined cities and wasted lands. It was not, however, until the invasion of Egypt by the Persians under Cambyses that the Egyptians suffered the worst calamities of war, for never before had the ancient shrines of Thebes and Memphis been plundered, and the gods therein turned into ridicule, and their cities burnt, and their nobles slain, and their women sold into slavery. The burning of the Serapeum, too, and the wounding, or slaughter, of the Apis bull would add the keenest anguish to their miseries. With such events in their minds the Egyptians could not help comparing the results of the invasions of their country by Cambyses and Alexander. Where the Persian monarch had passed lay destruction and misery, but in the train of Alexander there followed peace and Greek civilization. Obstinate opposition, such as that shewn by the inhabitants of Tyre and Gaza, Alexander punished with the greatest severity, but, considering his wars and battles as a whole, he was a magnanimous conqueror. The account of his treatment of the high-priest Jaddua and of his behaviour in the Sanctuary in Jerusalem, if only partly true,

Savage cruelty of Cambyses.

Progress of Alexander and Cambyses compared.

[1] Inscription of Una, lines 22 to 27.

displays his religious toleration; similarly, if the narrative of the way in which Cambyses shewed his hatred for the gods of Egypt and for all that the Egyptians held in reverence be only true in a very small degree, he must appear as an intolerant fanatic.

Religious toleration of Alexander.

The first fabulous history of the life and travels and exploits of Alexander the Great was, I believe, composed and written in Egypt soon after his death by an Egyptian, or by one whose interests were wholly Egyptian; if it was written by a Greek he made use of materials which had been invented by the Egyptians. The chief aim of the writer of the story was to prove that Alexander was an Egyptian and the son of the last native king of Egypt, Nectanebus II. That, in proving his point, he ruined the reputation of Olympias, the wife of Philip of Macedon, was nothing to him; on the contrary, in shewing that she was held to be worthy of continuing the race of the gods by the person of Nectanebus, he probably imagined that he was doing her honour. It is possible, of course, that the story of a fugitive king becoming the father of a future king of the country from which he had fled, by the queen of a foreign land, is borrowed from a still older story—for nothing in the way of legends and stories seems to have a beginning in the East—and one day we may even find it. In any case, if the writer of the Alexander story succeeded in making his readers believe that the mighty warrior was both an

The Egyptian origin of the Alexander story

The chief aim of the work.

Egyptian and the son of Nectanebus II. who, in common with all Egyptian kings, was God's vicar upon earth, the national spirit would be flattered, and the Egyptians would sit more easily under the yoke of a Greek king.

From these considerations it seems clear that the Alexander story is of Egyptian origin. But, besides these, there is a mass of internal evidence in the work which shews that the author was more versed in Egyptian matters than any foreigner could well be, and these must be briefly noticed. According to the oldest versions of the story Nectanebus, the putative father of Alexander, was a very expert magician; by his magical powers he had kept his enemies at bay and had succeeded in keeping fast hold upon his own kingdom for many years. How he gained his reputation as a magician cannot be said, and there is no historical documents which would account for it; the hieroglyphic texts prove that he repaired and added to many Egyptian temples, and the text on one of his statues shews that he reigned seventeen years at least.[1] The versions of the story go on to say that he wrought his magic by means of a bowl of water, some waxen figures, and an ebony rod. The waxen figures were made in the forms of the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him by sea or by land, and were placed upon the water in the basin by him. Nectanebus then

Nectanebus the magician.

Magic wrought by waxen figures.

[1] Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 717.

arrayed himself in suitable apparel, and, having taken the rod in his hand, began to recite certain formulae and the names of divine powers known unto him, whereupon the waxen figures became animated and straightway sank to the bottom of the bowl; at the same moment the hosts of the enemy were destroyed. If the foe was coming by sea he placed the waxen soldiers in waxen ships, and at the sound of the words of power both ships and men sank into the waves as the waxen models sank to the bottom of the basin. This he was in the habit of doing for some time, but there came a day when he appealed to the supernatural powers in vain, and the waxen figures moved not; then he knew that the gods had decreed the end of his reign, and having shaved his head and beard and disguised himself, he fled from Egypt.

The antiquity of the use of waxen figures.

Now we know that the Egyptians employed waxen figures in working deeds of magic from the earliest times, and it is clear that certain undefined properties were attributed to the material of which they were made. It is well known that the Egyptians believed that the qualities, and much else, of a living original could be transferred to an image thereof by means of the repetition over it of certain formulae, and it seems as if, when the object was to do harm, wax was the material most commonly used for making the image. It is true that figures of the gods of the four cardinal points, which were buried with the

dead to *protect* the intestines, were sometimes made of wax,[1] but the cases known are rare and are not sufficiently numerous to outweigh the evidence on the other side. Thus in the Westcar Papyrus[2] we have the story of the wife of a high Egyptian official called Āba-āner who fell in love with one of the king's followers, and she sent to him and told him of her desire; subsequently the pair met in the woman's garden, and they passed the day in drinking and in pleasure. On the morrow the husband was told of his wife's conduct, and he determined to punish both with death. Sending for his ebony box bound with fine metal he made a waxen crocodile a few inches long, and having recited magical formulae over it, he gave it to his chief servant and told him to throw it into the water when he saw his wife's paramour going to bathe in the evening. When the guilty pair had passed another day together and the young man went down to the river in the evening, the chief servant cast the waxen crocodile into the water; and as it was falling it turned into a huge living crocodile about twelve feet long, and swallowed the young man. Seven days later Āba-āner and the king Neb-ka went to the water where the crocodile was, and Āba-āner ordered it to give up the young man, and it came out of the

Waxen figures in the IIIrd dynasty.

[1] See Nos. 15,563, 15,564, 15,573, 15,578 in the British Museum.

[2] Ed. Erman, pp. 7 and 8.

water and straightway brought up the young man.[1] When the king had made some remark, Āba-àner picked up the crocodile, which at once turned into the small waxen crocodile which it was originally, and again when he ordered it to devour the young man, it once more became a living reptile, and, seizing the young man, made its way to the water, and disappeared with him. The faithless wife was burnt. The principal actors in this story are said to have flourished during the rule of the IIIrd dynasty of Egypt, nearly four thousand years before Christ, and it is a noteworthy fact that the narrative mentions the ebony and metal box and the making of a waxen crocodile in a way which seems to shew that their owner was in the habit of using the box and the wax frequently.

Waxen figures in the Middle Empire.

The custom of trying to do harm to people by means of waxen images is proved to have existed in later days by a papyrus, first described by Chabas,[2] which records that a man was prosecuted in an Egyptian court of law for having made figures of men and women in wax, by which he caused sundry and divers pains and sicknesses to the living beings whom they represented.

An example of the use of waxen figures for causing dreams is given in Pseudo-Callisthenes

[1] Here we are forcibly reminded of Jonah's miraculous escape from the whale.

[2] *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170.

Bk. I. chap. 5, and although I have not been able to find any similar example in Egyptian papyri, there are certain things mentioned which shew that the Egyptians held the same views. When Nectanebus wished Olympias to believe that the god Ammon had visited her during the night, he decided to send her a dream in which she should have this vision. To effect this he went out from her presence and gathered a number of herbs which had the power of causing dreams, and pressed out the juice from them. He then fashioned a female figure in the form of Olympias, and inscribed upon it the name of Olympias, and having made the model of a bed he laid the figure thereon.[1] Nectanebus next lit a lamp and, pouring out the juice of the herbs over the waxen figure, he recited the words of power which would compel the demons to send Olympias a dream; and at the moment of the performance of these acts Olympias dreamed that she was in the arms of the god Ammon. The idea of inscribing the figure with a name finds its parallel in a rubric to a papyrus which orders that the waxen figure of Āpepi, the demon of mist and rain, which had been burnt in a grass fire was to have "his accursed name cut and inscribed upon it in green colour."[2]

Waxen figure of Olympias.

[1] Eique nomen reginae adscribens lectulum ei fabricatur, cui illa effigies supra ponitur; see Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 6.

[2] (col. xxiii. l. 6).

The two following examples of the use of waxen figures will shew what means were provided by the magician to secure for a lover the favours of the beloved one. In the one case he is directed to make a figure of a dog in wax mixed with pitch, gum, &c., and the model is to be eight fingers long; certain magical words are to be written on the dog's ribs. Next a tablet is taken, and on it certain magical words or names also are to be written; the dog is then to be placed on the tablet, and the tablet on a tripod. The lover must recite the words written on the dog and on the tablet, and the creature will either snarl and shew his teeth or bark; if he snarls the beloved one will not come to him that loves her, and if he barks she will. In the other case the lover is told to make two waxen figures: the one is to be in the form of Ares, and the other in the form of a woman. The female figure is to be in the posture of kneeling on her knees with her hands tied behind her, and the male figure is to stand over her with his sword at her throat. On the limbs of the female figure a large number of names of fiends are to be written, and when this has been done the lover must take thirteen bronze needles and stick them in her limbs, saying as he does so, "I pierce [here he mentions the name of the limb] "that she may think of me." The lover must then write certain words of power on a leaden plate, which must be tied to the waxen figures with a string containing three hundred and sixty-five knots,

Waxen figures in the Graeco-Roman period.

Waxen dog.

Waxen man and woman.

and both figures and plate are to be buried in the grave of some one who has died young or who has been slain by violence. He must then recite a long incantation to the infernal gods, and if all these things be done in a proper manner the lover will obtain the woman's affection.[1]

Aristotle's waxen figures.

Passing on to later times, we have a tradition that Aristotle gave to Alexander a number of waxen figures nailed down in a box, which was fastened by a chain, and which he ordered him never to let go out of his own hand, or at least out of that of one of his confidential servants. The box was to go wherever Alexander went, and Aristotle taught him to recite certain formulae over it whenever he took it up or put it down. The figures in the box were intended to represent the various kinds of armed forces that Alexander was likely to find opposed to him. Some of the models held in their hands leaden swords which were curved backwards, and some had spears in their hands pointed head downwards, and some had bows with cut strings; all these were laid face downwards in the box. Viewed by what we

[1] I owe the information in this paragraph to my colleague Mr. F. G. Kenyon, of the Department of MSS; British Museum. The Greek texts are published from two papyri in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus*, Wien, 1888, l. 296 ff., and lines 1877—1908 (p. 67). For lists of magical words used for purposes of incantation see Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1893, pp. 255—267.

know of the ideas which underlay the use of waxen figures by the Egyptians and Greeks, it is clear that, in providing Alexander with these models and the formulae to use with them, Aristotle believed that he was giving him the means of making his enemies to become powerless to attack him.

A hawk bewitched by Nectanebus.

But the power of the magic of Nectanebus was not exhausted when he had sent to Olympias the dream which has been described above. When the queen discovered that she was with child she was greatly afraid, and to quiet her fears Nectanebus sent a dream to Philip also, in which he made known to him what had happened to his wife. To do this he took a sea-hawk and having bewitched it, he made it to fly through the night to the place where Philip was, and that which Nectanebus had told it to say to Philip in a dream the hawk said. In his dream Philip saw his wife united to the god Ammon, and when he had left her Philip saw him tie her up with a papyrus string and seal her with a gold ring having a bezel inscribed with the sun, and below it were the head of a lion and a spear. That Nectanebus could bewitch the hawk is only what we should expect, and the story of the hawk being able to talk is not to be wondered at as the product of a country where a cow warned a younger brother that his elder brother was standing behind the door of the stable with his dagger in his hand, waiting to slay him.[1] In another Egyptian story a crocodile makes

[1] *D'Orbiney Papyrus*, p. v. l. 8.

Beasts and reptiles with powers of speech.

a speech to a prince whom he intends to make his victim,[1] and in yet another story a certain island contained a serpent nearly fifty feet long which held converse with an unfortunate mariner who was wrecked there;[2] for birds and beasts to talk was to the Egyptian no uncommon event. The string of papyrus and the seal proclaim at once the origin of this part of the story, and the gold ring with a bezel inscribed in hieroglyphics was a common sight in Egypt. The arrangement of the signs almost suggests that the inscription was the prenomen or nomen of a king. In passing we may note that the name "Two-horned", by which Alexander was known in later days, is the literal translation of the two Egyptian words *sepṭ ābuı̇* "provided with two horns", which formed one of the titles of Åmen-Rā, whose son he was said to be.

The travels of the Alexander story.

The above considerations will probably be thought sufficient to prove the Egyptian origin of the Alexander story, and it is now necessary to indicate briefly how the story travelled and grew. Within a very short time after the appearance of the historical biographies of Alexander in Egypt, whether written in Egyptian or Greek, a number of apocryphal stories about him and fabulous

[1] Goodwin, *Translation of a Fabulous Tale* (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 356).

[2] Golénischeff, *Ermitage Impérial. Inventaire de la Collection Égyptienne*, p. 178.

legends of his deeds and travels sprang up; it is most natural to assume that these were written down for popular use in Greek. During the rule of the Ptolemies in Egypt literature flourished in an extraordinary manner, and the pursuit of knowledge of all kinds was carried on with an almost feverish haste. Professional scribes could have had no lack of occupation, and the works of every author or compiler, who was a master in his profession, and had anything new to say, found ready purchasers. The oldest version of the Alexander story known to us was written in Greek and it professes to have been the work of Callisthenes: this, however, is impossible, and the version is now called that of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Of the date at which it was written nothing is known, but it was probably not later than A. D. 200. Several MSS. of the version are known, and they may be roughly divided into three groups: 1. One MS. which represents the oldest form of the Alexander story; 2. MSS. wherein an attempt has been made to harmonize the true and the fabulous accounts of the life of Alexander, and wherein the work is attributed to Alexander; 3. those wherein the historical facts have been well nigh buried in legends.[1] None of these MSS. represents the oldest form of all of the Alexander story.

Greek versions.

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[1] For the Greek text see Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Paris, 1846; Meusel, *Pseudo-Callisthenes nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben*, Leipzig 1871.

Latin versions.

From Greek the story passed into Latin, and the oldest version in this language is that of Julerius Valerius,[1] who lived in the third or fourth century of our era; another important Latin version is that of Leo the Archpresbyter, which appeared in the XIth century.[2]

The Armenian version.

Next in point of age is the Armenian version, which is thought to have been made by Moses of Khorene;[3] it represents the oldest form of the Alexander story, and is believed to have been made in the Vth century of our era. Prof. Noeldeke believes that the Armenian version has little importance for the Oriental forms of the story, but that it is of the highest importance for the Greek text, because the translator rendered what he had before him with great accuracy.[4]

The Syriac version.

An important ancient version of the Alexander story is the Syriac,[5] which was probably made about the VIIth or VIIIth century. I thought originally that the Syriac translation was made from the Arabic, but Prof. Noeldeke has proved conclusively that the source of this version was Persian,

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[1] It accompanies the Greek text in Müller, *op. cit.*

[2] *Historia Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae, de proeliis.*

[3] The text was published by the Mechitarist Fathers, at Venice in 1842.

[4] *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans,* Vienna, 1890, p. 2.

[5] The text, with an English translation, was published by me under the title, *The History of Alexander the Great,* Cambridge, 1889.

and that the story passed into Syriac through the Pehlevî. The Pehlevî text he would place not later than the VIIth century, and the Syriac version cannot be very much later, for it is most unlikely that a knowledge of Pehlevî sufficient to translate such a work would long survive the downfall of the Sâsânides among the Syrians. Prof. Noeldeke would go a step further and say that the translator was an Eastern Syrian and a Nestorian, and that he was not necessarily a priest. The Syriac version was much read by the Nestorians, and it was used by later historians in their works; there is, moreover, little doubt that several portions of it found their way into Ethiopic through the Arabic.[1] For a discussion on the value of the

[1] "Gelehrte Perser haben im VIII. Jahrhundert verschiedene "Werke aus dem Pehlewî ins Arabische übersetzt: es lag "ihnen viel daran, die siegreichen Araber mit ihrer nationalen "Litteratur bekannt zu machen. Aber für syrische Christen, "die unter den Grosskönigen, wie unter den Chalifen eine "gleich bescheidene Stellung einnahmen, in ähnlicher Weise "zu arbeiten, konnte einem Perser nicht in den Sinn kommen. "Nestorianische Geistliche persischer Nationalität mussten "wohl etwas syrisch lernen, aber eine litterarische Thätigkeit, "wie die Übersetzung eines solchen profanen oder vielmehr "heidnischen Buchs ist bei ihnen nicht vorauszusetzen. Also "haben wir anzunehmen, dass der Übersetzer ein Syrer war. "Und zwar ein Ostsyrer, denn nur auf dem Gebiete, wo die "Sâsâniden herrschten oder vor kurzem geherrscht hatten, "kann man bei einem Syrer die Kenntniss des Persischen "annehmen, welche zu einem solchen Werke notwendig war." Noeldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 17. These remarks are fully confirmed by the "Historia Monastica" of Thomas of Margâ, from

Syriac "Christian Legend", and the "Brief Life of "Alexander", and the metrical homily on Alexander attributed to Jacob of Serûgh (died A. D. 521), see Noeldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 24 ff.

Hebrew legends of Alexander. In Hebrew literature many stories are extant concerning Alexander the Great and his travels, but it is quite certain that they have nothing whatever to do with the early forms of the Alexander story as given by Pseudo-Callisthenes, and that the Jews influenced the development of the legends therein in no way whatever.[1]

Arabic versions. In Arabic the earliest mention of Alexander is found in the Ḳuʿrân; here we find the Arabic form of his title "Two-horned", and the account of the brass and iron rampart which he made to shut in the nations of Gog and Magog, and the story of the dried fish which came to life in the fountain of the water of life, although the principal actors in this last story are made to be Moses and Joshua, the son of Nun (see Sûra XVIII, and Sale's translation, pp. 222—226).[2] **Persian versions.** A knowledge of the legends of Alexander is shewn by several Arabic writers of later dates, and at a tolerably early period the Persian historians "knew somewhat or all of his history"; as the best description of the general

whose work it is quite clear how much the Nestorians were indebted to the Persian nobility; several of the most distinguished men whose lives are recorded by him had Persian blood in their veins.

[1] See Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—27.

[2] Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

contents of the most important narratives by Arabs and Persians is given by Noeldeke in his *Beiträge*, so often quoted here, to this the reader is referred. Before passing on, however, it must be noted that the Persians made Alexander to be the son of a Persian king!

Siamese and Malay versions.

The Alexander story having found its way into Arabic and Persian, it is only natural that it should be translated into the languages of still more remote Eastern countries, and according to the late Col. Yule[1] versions in Malay and Siamese were made.

The Coptic version.

Returning once again to the land of Egypt we now know that the Egyptian Christians, or Copts, who lived in Upper Egypt, possessed a Coptic version of the Alexander story, and fragments of this version have been found and published.[2] Of the translator nothing is known, and of the period when the translation was made all that can be said is that it was probably before the Xth century.

The Turkish versions.

Towards the end of the XIVth century a Turkish poetical version of the Alexander story was written by Tâj al-Dîn Aḥmed ibn Ibrahîm el-Aḥmedi, who based his work on the Iskender Nâmeh of Niẓâmî.[3]

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[1] *Ser Marco Polo*, 2nd. edit., vol. i. p. iii.

[2] See Bouriant, *Fragments d'un Roman d'Alexandre en dialecte Thébain* (see *J. S. A.*, Sér. 8. tom. ix. 1887; and Crum, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. xiv. p. 473 ff.).

[3] See Rieu, *Catalogue of Turkish MSS.*, p. 162*b*.

Other European versions.

But if Eastern nations were delighted to read the legends of Alexander, no less readiness to do so was shewn by the Western nations of Europe, and as a result we have a version in German by Lamprecht, versions in French by Alberic de Besançon, Lambert li Tors, Alexandre de Bernay, Thomas of Kent, and many others, besides translations into Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Slavonian, Scotch and English.[1] Thus we see that the history and legends of Alexander became known from Malay on the East to the British Isles on the West, and from Sweden on the north to Abyssinia on the south; few books have travelled so far and still fewer have been so thoroughly welcomed and adopted into the literature of the various nations of the world.

Ethiopic histories of Alexander.

The Ethiopic histories of Alexander published in this book fall naturally into four groups:—

i. The Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

ii. The Extracts from larger historical works, *i. e.*, from Al-Makîn, Abû Shâker, and Joseph ben-Gorion.

iii. A brief Life by an anonymous author.

iv. A Christian Romance.

The Ethiopic Pseudo-Callisthenes.

i. Of all these the most interesting and most valuable historically is the Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. When and by whom this translation or version was made we know nothing, but that it was made from the Arabic there is little doubt,

[1] For the editions see my *Alexander*, pp. cx, cxi.

and the similarity of its contents with those of the Syriac version is striking. Between it, however, and the Syriac, there is one remarkable difference. In the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes there are a few passages which seemed to me to indicate the hand of the Christian priest,[1] but it is not until we come to the "Christian Legend" that the whole narrative becomes imbued with Christian ideas and traditions, and has comparatively little connexion with the work of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.[2] In the Ethiopic version, however, Alexander has become a Christian king, and his words and acts are represented as those of a convert to the Christian religion. It is not easy to decide whether the Ethiopian translator invented these things, or whether he found them in the Arabic work from which he translated, or whether he found this idea suggested therein and enlarged upon it; many statements certainly seem to be additions by the Christian translator, for they cannot possibly be of Muslim origin. In matters

Alexander a Christian King.

[1] Prof. Noeldeke thinks not. "Dass. der Uebersetzer gerade ein Geistlicher war, wie Budge meint, ist nicht notwendig; die sehr wenigen biblischen Anklänge, die sich im Syr. zeigen, würden auch bei einem Laien nicht auffallen." *Beiträge*, p. 17.

[2] "Diese Erzählung wäre zwar ohne Pseudocallisthenes kaum denkbar, denn erst aus der Umbildung des geschichtlichen Helden in den des Romans konnte der König der Legende werden, aber im Einzelnen hängt sie nur durch wenige Züge mit ihm zusammen." *Beiträge*, p. 30.

of traditions concerning the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, or of Bible history, he may have borrowed freely, but when Alexander is made to say, "It is meet that we should not serve any "god besides Himself, and that we should worship "Him in His Word and in His mercy, by which "every thing existeth, His Persons being three, and "His Godhead one," no doubt can be held as to the origin of this addition. Already in the account of Alexander's expedition into Palestine, as given in Müller's Greek codex C[1], the king is made to ask one of the priests, "What god do you "worship?" and the wily priest answers, "We serve "the one God Who made heaven and earth, and "all that therein is, and Whom no man hath been "able to find out." To this Alexander replies, "As worshippers of the true God, go in peace, "for your God shall be my God. And let there "be peace between me and you, and I will not "pass through your land as I have through the "countries of other peoples, because ye are the "servants of the living God." Again, in the same Codex, when Alexander has finished the building of his city Alexandria, he is made to go up to the tower and to declare all the gods of the earth vanity, and to acknowledge only one God to be the true, and invisible, and inscrutable God, Who rideth upon the wings of the Seraphim, and Who is praised by cries of "Holy, Holy, Holy."[2] If the

Alexander a believer in the Trinity.

Alexander a monotheist.

[1] See Müller, p. 83, col. 1 (Bk. ii. chap. 24).

[2] See Müller, p. 85, col. 1. ἄνεισιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ

Greek version made Alexander accept the God of the Hebrews there is little wonder that the Ethiopian made him a servant of Jesus Christ; but there is, perhaps, another explanation of the matter.

Alexander's temperate habits.

Serious historians of Alexander testify to the habits of moderation which he practised in his early life. Quintus Curtius speaks of his simple dress, his affability to his attendants, his avoidance of intoxication, and adds that "he appeared to "have extinguished voluptuous wishes rather than "to have regulated them; and from his indifference "to the charming half of society, it was apprehended "that the house of Macedonia would be left without "an heir."[1] He cared little about his lodging and food, and joined in the gymnastic exercises with his soldiers with such spirit that he endeared himself to them all.[2] He was brave even to recklessness and as magnanimous as he was brave; death he despised. Among all the good qualities which Arrian[3] attributes to him are those of continence and moderation in the use of wine, which he enjoyed more for the pleasure of the conversation which accompanied it than for the desire to drink. According to Plutarch[4] his continence

His continence.

πύργῳ καὶ πάντας ἐξουθένησε τοὺς θεοὺς τῆς γῆς καὶ μόνον ἕνα θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀνεκήρυξεν ἀθεώρητον, ἀνεξιχνίαστον, τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ἐποχούμενον καὶ τρισαγίῳ φωνῇ δοξαζόμενον.

[1] Bagster's translation, Bk. i. 4. [2] See Bk. iii. 17.

[3] iv. 19; vii. 29. [4] Life of Alexander, iv.

He took wine sparingly.

His temperament naturally cold.

shewed itself at an early period, for, though he was vigorous, or rather, violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body; and if he tasted them it was with great moderation. He was very temperate in eating, and not so much addicted to the use of wine as he was thought to be;[1] when business called he was not to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining spectacle. Soon after rising he sacrificed to the gods and then took a meal sitting down; the rest of the day he read and wrote and passed in hunting or in athletic exercises, and he took his last meal late in the evening. As concerning the virtue of his continence there seems to have been some doubt among ancient writers,[2] and there are not wanting those who accuse him of abominable practices.[3] Some say that he was, in regard

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[1] Life of Alexander, xxii.

[2] Compare Ἱερώνυμός τε, ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς, Θεόφραστόν φησι λέγειν, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ εὖ διέκειτο πρὸς ἀφροδίσια. Ὀλυμπίαδος γοῦν καὶ παρακλινάσης αὐτῷ Καλλιξεῖναν τὴν θετταλὴν ἑταῖραν, περικαλλεστάτην οὖσαν, συνειδότος τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου, (εὐλαβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ γύννις εἴη) πολλάκις ᾔτει αὐτὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον συγγενέσθαι. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* (ed. Schweighaeuser, tom. iv. p. 93), lib. x. 45. The word γύννις = γῖνος, Lat. ginnus, *i. e.*, hinnus. The form γῖνος occurs in an inscription from Rhodes; see *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, part 2, p. 123.

[3] Φιλόπαις δ᾽ ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βασιλεύς. Athenaeus, xiii. 80. On the other hand we have the indig-

to women, cold by temperament, the opposite of his father Philip, and others that he was far too much absorbed in ambition and engaged in bodily labours to find the necessary time to dally in an Oriental harem. The former view is supported by the passage in Plutarch[1] where he is made to say that sleep and the commerce with the sex were the things that made him most sensible of his mortality, and that he considered both weariness and pleasure as the natural effects of our weakness; but the latter view is probably the more correct. That Alexander could be fascinated by female beauty is evident from his affection for Barsimê, the widow of his rival Memnon and daughter of Artabazus, who is said to have been not only a most beautiful woman, but one who was educated after the manner of the Greeks.[2] The incident which has most laid hold of the Oriental imagination, and caused Oriental peoples to proclaim Alexander's chastity is that which happened in connexion with the mother, wife and daughter of Darius. When Parmenion suggested to him that the Persian royal women should share the usual fate of female captives, he replied that it would be a

The princess Barsimê.

Alexander's treatment of the Persian Queen.

nant remark of Alexander to his friends (Plutarch, xxii.), when Theodore the Tarentine wrote and told Alexander that he had two beautiful boys to sell. Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 100), relying on the passage in Athenaeus quoted in the preceding note, believes that his development was tardy.

[1] *Life of Alexander*, § xxii.

[2] Plutarch, § xxi.

disgraceful thing for the Greeks having fought and overcome men to allow themselves to be vanquished by women.[1] Elsewhere[2] Alexander says that he has neither seen nor does he desire to see the wife of Darius, who was said to be a most beautiful woman, and that he has not allowed any man to speak of her beauty in his presence.

These facts, in whole or in part, must have found their way all over the East, and they no doubt, greatly impressed the Oriental imagination; with only the historical account of Alexander's youthful virtues before him the Christian translator would have no difficulty whatsoever in transforming the hero into a Christian king. Having become a Christian king in the hands of his Ethiopian biographer, Alexander must necessarily issue proclamations full of Christian ideas and sentiments, and he must improve every occasion of imparting Christian doctrine, otherwise his history would become a means of amusement only and not of edification; and this is what has happened. When Alexander has taken his army and set out for the east, his first act is to found Alexandria, and having made due acknowledgements to "God, the Most

[1] πλὴν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄνδρας νικήσαντας ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἡττηθῆναι; see Müller, p. 78 (Bk. ii. chap. 17). This incident forms one of the "amusing" stories of Bar-Hebraeus, who gives it thus:—ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܛܠ ܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܕܫܦܝܪ̈ܢ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܕܢܙܟܐ ܚܕ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܘܢܙܟܝܢ ܠܗ ܢܫ̈ܘܗܝ ܀

[2] Plutarch, Life of Alexander, xxii.

High" (see p. 38),[1] he appoints Aristotle to be his master and counsellor. This Aristotle is described as belonging to the philosophers who say, "The "Heavens declare the glory of the Creator, Who "killeth and Who maketh alive, Who promoteth "to honour and Who bringeth down into the dust;" here then we have almost word for word quotations from books of the Bible (see p. 39). When Alexander becomes king he makes five proclamations: two to his household, one to his governors, one to his soldiers, and one to the kings and governors of the world in general (see pp. 40—59). The subject matter in each is practically the same, that is, exhortations to forsake idolatry and to worship God Almighty; in places they remind the reader of passages in the Ḳûrʿân, but the general tone of the compositions is against their being of Arabic origin. In his epistles to Darius and others Alexander always calls himself the "Servant of God Almighty" (see p. 67), and when he is in Jerusalem he reads the Book of Daniel, —that Alexander knew neither Hebrew nor Chaldee troubled not the translator—and prays towards the east, and does homage unto the Holy Scriptures and to the words of the prophets (see pp. 73—75). When Alexander joined battle with Darius he cries out in true Muḥammadan fashion, "There is no "strength for us save in God Almighty" (see p. 79). The Brahmans are described as "fearers of God",

Aristotle quotes the Scriptures.

Alexander's proclamations.

The Brahmans said to be of Jewish origin.

[1] These numbers refer to the English translation.

and are boldly identified with the Israelites who lived in the time of Elijah, and who had not bowed the knee to Baal; still more remarkable is it that 1 Kings xix. 10 is quoted (p. 127). In the letter which the Brahmans write to him they describe themselves as "the children" of Seth, the son of Adam, whom God covered over in the hidden place of His treasures (the famous "Cave of Treasures"?) when He sent "the Flood upon "the earth" (p. 129); a similar view is given in the "Book of Adam and Eve."[1] When Alexander is in India he visits a certain temple, and sees therein a number of curious and beautiful things, and among others a figure of a god reclining on a couch; in the Greek text we are told that the God was Dionysos, but in the Ethiopic text he is said to be Enoch (p. 159). In the account of Alexander's visit to China disguised as one of his own generals, we are told that the king of China gave him "one thousand loads of the finest gold "and silver, for in this country are situated the "mountains wherefrom they dig gold" (p. 179). This statement set the mind of the translator thinking about Ophir, and he adds, "and from this "place Solomon the son of David brought the "gold wherewith he built the sanctuary, and he "made the vessels and the shields of the gold of "the land of China". In the city of Samarkand (p. 185) Alexander built "a place for prayer," but

Dionysos transformed into Enoch.

China identified with Ophir.

[1] Ed. Malan, p. 118

the equivalent passage in the Syriac version[1] states that he built a "temple to Rhea, whom they call "Nânî." The boats of the bridge which he built to cross the "crystal" river were made in the shape of Noah's ark (p. 186), and Alexander is made to say, "Now I saw the ark of Noah on the island "where it lay"! Once, however, the Ethiopian translator condones an irregularity in the life of his hero, I mean in the matter of the love-passages between Alexander and Candace (p. 201), and he is so much carried away by the story of the beauty of the Ethiopian queen, the praise of whose beauty, he says, "no living man could sing sufficiently," that he adds, "Glory be to God Almighty, "the King, the Maker, the Mighty One, the Great, "the Creator of such a race of women who have "brought forth children to the mighty." Whatever else the translator might be, he was certainly a patriot.

Alexander and Candace.

After the episode of the Amazons and the account of the letter which Aristotle sent to him, advising him to return thanks to God for all that He had done for him, we find inserted in the text a version of the "Christian Legend"[2], which purports to describe the events which happened in his seventh year (pp. 216—242). Herein we have a curious account of the origin of the Dead Sea, which is said to "stink horribly" because of the

The Legend of the Dead Sea.

[1] See p. 115.

[2] See the Syriac version, p. 144 ff.

dead bodies of men and women and the carcases of beasts and birds which lie in the depths thereof, whither they were brought by the waters of the Flood. In the prayer which Alexander makes before he sets out he speaks of the "God Who dwelleth above the Cherubim and Seraphim", and Whose throne is surrounded by "ten thousand times ten thousand angels" (p. 221), and the famous gate which he builds to shut in the wicked nations of Gog and Magog is set up by him with God's consent. The four rivers flow from Paradise "like the form of the Cross, towards the East, West, South, and North" (p. 236), and in the prophecy which he makes after the building of the Iron Gate he refers to the prophet Jeremiah; similarly, with reference to the mountain which surrounds the world, the Book of Job is quoted (p. 242). In the Land of Darkness Alexander meets the angel who holds the earth in its proper place, and who refers to the expulsion of Adam from Paradise (p. 246), and describes heaven according to ideas which are expressed in the Old Testament. The river of the Water of Life floweth from beneath God's throne, which is supported by four angels, one of whom has an ox's face, another a lion's face, another an eagle's face, and another a man's face (p. 247); and the angels sing hymns by day and by night. Next comes an account of the creation of man and of his dwelling in Paradise (p. 250), and when Alexander returns to his troops and they eat of the bunch of grapes which the Angel

Paradise and its rivers.

The Throne of God.

of the Mountain had given him, he says to them, "Behold, ye have eaten of the bread of "angels, even as the prophet David saith in the "LXXVIIth Psalm, 'Man did eat the bread of His "angels'" (p. 263). The idea of the Macedonian king possessing such an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures is quaint, and shews how little regard the translator had either for probability or fact; on the other hand we find that when Alexander comes to Babylon he wilfully destroys a number of wonderful things which were supposed to have been the property of Solomon, the son of David (p. 291). After the banquet which Olympias makes by Alexander's wish, when she has realized that sorrow comes to all alike, she makes a speech wherein she says, "It is good for a man to say, "'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts'" (p. 307), an evident reflection of a Christian conception.

The eight wonders of Babylon destroyed.

We have seen that the translator has inserted into his version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes a series of addresses by Alexander and a Christian Legend, for which there is but scanty authority in the Greek, and now we come to a long interpolated passage which records his address to his scribe Raḥâmân, and his "Precepts" for his disciples (pp. 293—331). In the address to his scribe Alexander makes a series of remarks which any believer in our own times might have made, and his description of the throne of the Deity (p. 300) reflects the visions of Ezekiel the prophet. In his "Precepts" for his disciples he reviews at some length God's dealings

The scribe Raḥâmân.

with the Hebrew patriarchs, beginning with Adam and ending with Solomon. In the case of Enoch he describes how sinful men had become and with what abominable practices they had corrupted themselves, and a curious statement is made to the effect that the children of Cain settled in the land of Alexandria. Another curious legend, also, is preserved in his account of Job, for this patriarch is said to have been consulted by Pharaoh, king of Egypt, about the slaughter of the children of Israel, and all the evils which came upon him are described as punishments laid upon him because he did not "wax furious" with Pharaoh at the suggestion. To Solomon, the son of David, miraculous powers are attributed, for he could hear the worm crawling on the tiles of the floor, and he could see in the air the bird which was beyond the ken of ordinary mortals; for himself he built a glass house which contained ten thousand rooms! Further, the translator having represented Alexander as leading the life of a Christian king during his travels, very consistently makes him bequeath ten thousand *dînânîr* to the churches of Egypt after his death (p. 345). We cannot here continue the list of the evidences of the hand of the Christian translator, for they will be further mentioned in the account of the "Christian Romance" (pp. 437—584); we may, therefore, pass on to other peculiarities of the version.

Job and Pharaoh.

Solomon's wisdom.

Alexander endows Christian churches.

In the Ethiopic version Alexander's famous steed Bucephalus is said to have been a mare (p. 19),

and, curiously enough, she is said to have been of the seed of Nectanebus and also to have been conceived at "the exact time when the queen, the "wife of Philip, conceived"; elsewhere (p. 121) she is said to have been born "by sorcery at the same "time as himself". That Bucephalus should be described as a mare is not to be wondered at, for the estimation in which mares are held among the Semites is proverbial, and the translator may be excused for assuming that such a wonderful steed as that of Alexander must be a mare.[1] Bucephalus.

In the Ethiopic histories of Alexander we find two forms of a very ancient story of the man who Alexander's journey in the air.

[1] For the modern ideas of the Arab about mares, see Tweedie, *The Arabian Horse*, p. 231; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 220; and Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. I. pp. 166, 291 (2nd. ed.). "There is no difficulty in buying Arab stallions "except the price .... it is different with mares, which are "almost always the joint property of several owners. The "people too dislike to see a hat on a thorough-bred mare: "'What hast thou done that thou art ridden by that ill-omen-"'ed Kafir'? the Badawin used to mutter when they saw "a highly respectable missionary at Damascus mounting a "fine Ruwalá mare. The feeling easily explains the many "wars about horses occuring in Arab annals". Burton, *Thousand Nights and a Night*, vol. v. p. 247. A curious story is extant to the effect that Nectanebus sent to Lycerus, king of Babylon, and to his *wazîr* Aesop, telling them that he had mares which would become with foal if they only heard the neighing of the stallions which were in Babylon (see Meissner, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Ḥaiḳârgeschichte*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, Bd. xlviii. p. 180). For the story of mares being impregnated by the wind see Burton, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 9.

succeeded in flying through the air on an eagle's pinions up to heaven. In the version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (p. 277), it is said that "he flew through "the air on an eagle, and he arrived in the heights "of the heavens, and he explored them, and he "saw the east and the west thereof . . . and the "stations of the birth and going forth of the "stars", &c. In the "Christian Romance" (p. 474), a detailed account is given of how he tamed certain large birds by feeding them, and of how he and some of his mighty men leaped upon their backs and were borne away by them into the darkness, and of how after three days and three nights they arrived in the Country of the Living. Arabic tradition affirms (p. 33)[1] that Nimrod also tried to ascend into heaven by means of a chest drawn by four huge birds, and that after wandering about in the air for some time he fell down to the earth with great violence; but all these stories

Etanna the hero of Babylonia.

are based upon the legend of an ancient Babylonian hero called Etanna.[2] What the oldest form of the story was like cannot be said, but the fragments of an Assyrian copy, made for the Royal Library at Nineveh by order of Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria about B. C. 668—626, have come down to us.[3] In this version of the legend it seems

[1] In the note to the translation on p. 278, for p. 277 read p. 33.

[2]

[3] For the cuneiform text and a German translation see E. T. Harper in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Leipzig, 1892, Bd.

that Etanna wished to ascend to the highest heaven, and an eagle said to him, "Rejoice, my friend, "and let me carry thee to heaven. Lay thy breast "on my breast, thy hands on my pinions, and let "my side be as thy side." When the eagle had soared upwards for two hours with Etanna clasping him, he shewed the hero the great Ocean which surrounded the world, and the earth's surface which appeared like a mountain projecting from it. After another two hours the eagle shewed him that the Ocean clasped the land like a girdle, and after a third two hours they saw that the sea had become like a little pool of water.[1] At this moment they reached the door of the gods Anu, Ea, and Bel, and bird and man rested together. A gap in the text comes here, but when the story begins again the eagle is carrying Etanna to the goddess Ishtar, and he flies upwards for three periods of two hours each, drawing the hero's attention three times in much the same words as before to the rapidly diminishing earth. Presently the eagle's strength seems to fail, and he falls down and down, carrying the hero with him, and at length Etanna falls on the earth and is dashed to pieces. The Ethiopian translator received the story through the Arabic from the Greek,[2] and the Greek must, in

Journey of Alexander and Etanna compared.

Origin of the legend.

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ii. Heft 2, p. 390ff; and Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamos*, p. 17.

[1] See Lidzbarski in Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. viii. p. 266 f.

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 41.

its turn, have acquired it through some Semitic language. There is little doubt that the story was also fastened on to Gilgamish, a famous Accadian and Assyrian hero, even as it was fastened on to Alexander, and probably, if we had all the evidence we should find that it was told of some other hero who lived long before Etanna;[1] in fact it seems as if we had here one of the stories with which men amused themselves in a primitive period. Its existence in the legends of Alexander is another proof of the marvellous manner in which history and stories are preserved in the East where none of these things ever seems to have had a beginning.

Travels of Alexander and Gilgamish compared.

We have mentioned above the name of the hero Gilgamish, whose travels and fabulous history are recorded on the clay tablets of Assur-bani-pal's library,[2] and it can be shewn that the legends which had clustered round him were laid under contribution for the history of Alexander. Gilgamish fell sick and sought out the sage Atraḥasis to ask him how he might obtain eternal life,[3] and Alexander's constant quest was the well of the "Water "of Life" (p. 261). The mountain through which

The water of Life.

[1] Whom Aelian (*Nat. Animal.*, xii. 21), identifies with Gilgamish.

[2] For the cuneiform texts see Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, Leipzig, 1884; and for translations see Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*, London, 1876 (German translation by Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1876).

[3] Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamos*, p. 13.

Gilgamish travelled was called Mâshi,[1] and the identical name is preserved by the Greek[2] geographers, and in the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Alexander story (p. 228), In his journey over the ocean on which no man had before sailed Alexander took with him eagles which he set free, one after the other, to see if he was near land; the first two eagles found resting-places and, therefore, returned not, but the third returned to the ship after three days, "for the earth had appeared "unto it" (p. 282). Here it is quite clear that we have a reminiscence of the story of the Hebrew patriarch Noah, or of his Assyrian counterpart Ṣit-napishtim,[3] and of the three birds which were sent forth from the ark. Alexander's journey by sea occupied several months, even as did that of Noah when the waters of the Flood covered the earth. The "foetid sea", which forms such a striking subject in Alexander's travels, is thought by Meissner[4] to have its equivalent in the "waters "of death" of the Gilgamish legends; and Alexander's guide, who is called both "Mâtûn" and "El-khiḍr", is most probably identical with Atraḥasis

Alexander and Noah.

The stinking sea.

[1] [cuneiform] *sha-at Ma-a-shi*; see Haupt, *op. cit.*, plate 60, l. 2.

[2] τὸ Μάσιον ὄρος; see Strabo xi. 5. 6.

[3] The most recent and best translation of the Assyrian account of the Deluge is by Zimmern; see in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 423 ff.

[4] *Alexander und Gilgamos*, p. 15; Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*, p. 255.

of the Assyrian legends, as Lidzbarski has already suggested. In the Alexander story we are told that the hero slays a mighty dragon that has laid waste the country for a long time (p. 167), and his abode seems to have been partly on a mountain

The Dragon.

and partly on a river bank; he is of course slain by Alexander, and he dies a terrible death caused by red-hot stones setting fire to pitch and sulphur which he had been beguiled into swallowing. Here clearly we have a reminiscence of the fearful monster Tiâmat[1] which was slain by Marduk; in this case Alexander becomes identified with the Sun-god—Marduk in Babylonia, and Rā in Egypt—who scatters and destroys the hosts of darkness. In his travels by sea it will be remembered that Alexander once made a descent therein in a glass gace (p. 285), and that while he was there the Angel of the Sea shewed him some of the monsters of the deep. One creature came and bit the cage with his teeth, and his length was such that two days passed before Alexander saw his tail; another

Sea monsters.

monster appeared, and it took two days and two nights for him to pass before the cage. Presently a still more huge sea monster appeared, for although, according to the Angel's instructions, he rushed past the cage with the speed of lightning, it was three whole days and nights before Alexander saw the end of him. We might think that this was the parent of all the "sea-serpent" stories

[1] See Zimmern, in *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 411.

which appear in the narratives of "eye witnesses" at sea, but the genuine ancestor seems to have existed in Babylonia, long before Alexander marched through the country, under the name of Tiâmat. According to a cuneiform text this monster was nearly two hundred and fifty miles long, and about five miles wide, and her jaws were more than a mile long; her windings occupied a length of nearly seventy miles;[1] although no measurements are given of the sea monster which Alexander saw, there is little doubt that the fame of Tiâmat had reached the early writers of the Alexander story. In it too we may see the Leviathan of the Hebrew Scriptures.[2]

The dragon Tiâmat.

From the above facts it will be seen that many parallels may be drawn between the legends of Alexander and those of early Babylonian and Assyrian heroes, and there is little doubt that if we had in our hands the whole of the ancient legendary literature of Mesopotamia we should be able to prove this statement more fully. Given a brave, fearless soldier marching with an army through a certain country for conquest and pleasure, it seems that the same stories must be told of his progress and exploits, whether he be Etanna, Gilgamish, Nimrod, or Alexander. With the advance of time the first tolerably accurate descriptions of his life will be first distorted and then

Babylonian sources of the Alexander Story.

[1] Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

[2] Job. iii. 8; xl. 25; Psalm civ. 26; Isaiah xxvii. 1.

enlarged, and when he has become a mere memory his name will be made a peg on which to hang stories, legends, and myths. The details of the fabulous history of such an one will be modified to suit the country and ideas of the people among whom the writers live, and eventually it will become the popular expression of the national views of each country through which the history passes of what a hero should be. This is exactly what has happened to the Alexander story in the hands of Semitic and other writers. The Egyptians made Alexander the son of an Egytian king and a worshipper of Amen; the Greeks made him the type of the victorious Greek conqueror; the Persians made him a Persian; the Arabs made him a servant of Allah; the Syrians made him a Christian; and the Ethiopians depicted him as a believer in the Trinity and in the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. In one respect, however, the Arabs and Ethiopians have modified the legendary history of Alexander considerably, I mean, that they have omitted a great many facts which the Greeks and others considered to be the most important events in his life. Alexander's victory in the chariot races at Pisa, his conquest of Thebes, his sovereignty over the Athenians, etc., find no equivalents in the Ethiopic versions, and seemingly none in the Arabic texts from which the Ethiopian translated his work. Taken as a whole, however, the Ethiopic legendary histories of Alexander are most valuable from many points

Modifications of the story.

Alexander's transformation from heathenism to Christianity.

of view, but chiefly because we may assume that the genius of the language is better preserved in them than in the translations of the Bible, and because the translator has given all the accounts of Alexander which he could gather together.

Importance of Ethiopic histories of Alexander.

ii. Of the Extracts from large historical works, *i. e.*, those of Al-Makîn, Abû Shâker, and Joseph ben-Gorion, the first and second may be considered together, for one is based on the other. The contents refer to the war with Darius, the war with Porus, the duel between Alexander and Porus, the building of the Iron Gate to shut in Gog and Magog, the journey into the Land of Darkness, the voyage on the ocean, the founding of two hundred cities, Alexander's death by poison, and his letter to his mother. In each a great deal is said about Aristotle and his skill in making amulets, talismans, and astrological calculations, and a curious story is told of the famous philosopher making for Alexander a number of wax models of his foes and placing them in a box in positions indicative of defeat. Another curious story is told of Alexander sending to Aristotle for advice how to act in the matter of the nobles of Babylon who were hostile to him; the philosopher took the messenger into his garden and began to root up large trees, and to plant small twigs and shoots in their places, thereby indicating that the great nobles should be removed and other men of less dignity and power promoted to their places. The letter which Alexander wrote to console Olympias is mentioned

Extracts from Chronicles.

Aristotle's talismans.

Letter to Olympias.

in several places in the Ethiopic legends concerning him, and the part of it in which he tells her to make a feast and to invite many guests, and when they have assembled to say to them, "Let every "man upon whom trouble hath not fallen partake "of this food", became famous throughout the east.[1] Both Al-Makîn and Abû Shâker give the text of twenty of the sayings which were uttered over Alexander's body by the sages of Alexandria, and these probably represent a selection of those which were actually declaimed, for Masʿûdî gives twenty-eight and Eutychius thirty[2] (p. 379). At the end of his section on Alexander Al-Makîn refers to several works by Aristotle, and to some of his reputed sayings on justice and sovereignty;[3] among

Works attributed to Aristotle.

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[1] The story as told by Bar-Hebraeus in his "Laughable Stories" runs:—ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܬܥܝܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܡܪܥ ܕܢܡܘܬ. ܫܕܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܡܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. ܕܟܕ ܬܫܡܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܥܒܕܝ، ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ. ܘܐܘܟܠܝ ܠܡܣܟܢܐ. ܒܪܡ ܠܗܢܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܛܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡ ܡܪ̈ܥܘܬܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܟܕ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܡ ܠܐ ܡܛܝܗ̇ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܕܐ. ܬܬܒܝܐܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܬܥܝܩܝܢ ܀

[2] Saying No. ix seems to be preserved by Bar-Hebraeus in his "Laughable Stories" in these words:—ܕܝܘܓܢܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܡܝܬ. ܐܡܪ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܝܒܘܗܝ، ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡ ܐܬܡܠ ܝܘܬܪ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܗܘܐ ܘܝܘܡܢ ܝܘܬܪ ܡܝܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܀

[3] Other aphorisms of Aristotle are quoted by Bar-Hebraeus in his "Laughable Stories" as, for instance:—Aristotle commanded Alexander saying, "Reveal not thy secret unto "two men, lest if it be revealed, thou be not able to de-"cide which of the two hath made it public. If thou pun-

other things we are told that he translated the books of Hermes from the Egyptian into the Greek language, and a further reference is made to magical figures, each of which had a drum and a trumpet (p. 382).

"ishest both of them thou wilt certainly inflict an injury on "him that hath not revealed it, and if thou forgivest both "of them thou wilt not do even an act of grace in the case "of him that revealed it not". Aristotle wrote to Alexander and commanded him, saying: "Take good heed that thy "soldiers think no evil concerning thee, for to him who can "think easily it is easy to speak, and to him who can speak "easily it is easy to act"; and this he said that Alexander might do good unto every man. The following stories are told of Alexander:—1. Alexander saw among the ranks of his army a man called Alexander who constantly took to flight in the time of war, and he said to him, "Either be strong "in battle or change thy name, lest listeners be deceived by "the similarity of our names" 2. Gifts of certain glass vessels were given to Alexander, and although he admired them greatly he ordered them to be broken. And when he was asked why he did so he replied, "I know that they would "be broken one after another by the hands of the servants, "and that I should be moved to anger continually; therefore "by indulging in one [great] burst of wrath I have driven "away many [lesser] rages". 3. It was reported to Alexander that the women of Darius were exceedingly beautiful, and he replied, "It would be a most shameful thing for us to "be conquered by men of any nation whatsoever, and shall "we allow their women to conquer us?" 4. When Alexander was about to wage war with the Amazons he said, "If we "conquer these people it will not be a matter of boasting "for us, but if they vanquish me it will be a great disgrace "[for us]".

Alexander and the Jews

iii. In the Extract from the "History of the Jews" by Joseph ben-Gorion the writer's chief object is, of course, to describe Alexander's dealings with the Jews. His narrative begins with an account of the murder of Philip, and a description of the personal appearance of Alexander. Next comes the story of Alexander's visit to the sanctuary, told much as we have it in Josephus; the episode of his visit to Nablûs and of his reception by Sanballat the Samaritan was of more interest to the writer than it is to us.[1] The account of Alexander's war with Darius is fairly full, and he describes his visit to the court of Darius disguised as an ambassador, an episode which is omitted in the Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Alexander's victory over Porus and his journey to the Brahmans in the "City of the "Blessed" are recorded, and a modified statement of his questions and of their answers to them are given. A brief reference to his travels and to his death by poison concludes Joseph ben-Gorion's history of Alexander.

Alexander's visit to the court of Darius.

An Ethiopic summary of Alexander's Life.

iv. The History of the Death of Alexander the Macedonian by an anonymous writer consists of a brief summary of his life and death, and of twenty of the Sayings declaimed by the sages of Alexandria over his body. His army consisted of 600,000 horsemen, he founded two hundred cities, he conquered forty-four kings, and he died by

[1] See Zonaras (ed. Pinder), *Annalium*, iv. 15 (vol. I. p. 355).

poison at Babylon. These are the chief facts of the little work.

v. The "Christian Romance" is, perhaps, one of the most curious works that has ever been written about Alexander the Great, and from many points of view it is of very high interest. Of its author we know nothing, and the period of its composition is also unknown; but we may assume that it is, relatively, a modern work, and that it is not a translation from an older work in another language. Historically it is of no value, for the few facts which underlie this composition are so garbled as to be almost unrecognisable. It is quite certain that the writer has drawn upon sources other than his own imagination for many details, and though many of them are evident others are not so clear. The uppermost idea in his mind seems to have been Alexander's chastity, which is no doubt based upon an exaggerated view of the famous passage in Arrian,[1] where Alexander's conduct towards the wife of Darius is thus described:—"And as to "the wife of Darius, whose charms surpass'd all "the Asiaticks, he either had no desires towards "her, or he took care to curb his desires, notwith-"standing he was in the very heat of youth, and "at the height of glory, which are commonly great "debauchers of the mind, and often cause men to "make a bad use of those advantages which fortune "has put into their hands. But he, out of a certain

Importance of the "Christian Romance".

Alexander's chastity.

[1] Bk. iv. 19, 8.

"awe or reverence, forbore to touch her; and "herein shew'd himself no less a pattern of true "continency, than he had before done, of heroic "fortitude."[1] The next idea in the mind of the writer, who was probably a monk, was to Christianize every act of Alexander's life. The "Christian Romance" consists of thirty-three chapters and an introduction, in which, after a fitting prayer to the Deity, we are told that he "removed from himself "the lust of the flesh, that is to say, the thought "of fornication, and by cleanness of mind he over- "came the lust of the flesh" (p. 438); next he is compared unto Elijah the Tishbite, and John the Baptist, and the Emperor Honorius. Because of his asceticism and continuance in fasting and prayer he was able to shut in the nations of Gog and Magog, to penetrate the mountains of the Land of Darkness, and to obtain dominion over a thousand kingdoms. The contents of the chapters of the work may be thus described:—

Alexander described as an ascetic.

Summary of the "Christian Romance".

Chap. i. Address to wives and warnings to women unfaithful to their husbands. Philip of Macedon discovers what is to happen by means of the astrolabe,[2] and learns from it that if his son, who

[1] Rooke's Translation, vol. I. p. 259.

[2] For a full description of the astrolabe see W. H. Morley, *Description of a Planispheric astrolabe constructed for Shah Sultan Husain Safawi, King of Persia, and now preserved in the British Museum: Comprising an account of the astrolabe generally*, London, 1856, fol. The names of the Arabic and Persian treatises consulted by the writer are given on p. 23 of his work.

is to be called Alexander, be born in a certain hour he will be king over fourteen kings and will be pure in body; in consequence of this knowledge he arranges for his son to be born therein.

Summary of the "Christian Romance".

Chap. ii. Alexander is adopted by a neighbouring king and becomes king of Media, Babylon, Nineveh, Egypt, and Cyprus. The Red Sea expedition and destruction of impure nations, Alexandria is founded, conquest of Philistia, description of the Viper and Serpent nations and of their manners and customs, the building of the Iron Gate to shut in the nations of Gog and Magog, &c.

Chap. iii. Alexander's prayer. The children of Japhet and their skill in making mechanical contrivances in brass, musical instruments, &c.

Chap. iv. The citadel of adamant is scaled and entered by Alexander, the musical instruments therein, the inscription inside the citadel.

Chap. v. Capture and loot of the citadel by Alexander and his army, the automatic organ, the prayer of Alexander, the organ taken to pieces and reconstructed.

Chap. vi. The Spirit of the Almighty reveals to Alexander the future Incarnation of Christ, Alexander chosen to be a prophet.

Chap. vii. The founding of the city of Alexandria.

Chap. viii. Alexander determines to visit the "Country of the Living" and prepares to set out. After one year he arrives in the "Country of Darkness" and, carried on the back of an eagle,

he arrives in the "Country of the Living" in three days and three nights more.

Summary of the "Christian Romance".

Chap. ix. Alexander puts forth to sea and eagles drag his ships along; at length he comes to the city of the Saints. The water thereof is sweeter than sugar, the stones are of sard, chalcedony, sapphire, etc., from the herb of the field manna is obtained, there is there neither cold nor heat, summer nor winter, every cistern is filled with honey, and every beast with milk. It is quite clear that this description is based upon the account of the Makrobioi and their island Taprobane (*i. e.*, Ceylon), by Palladius, which is found in Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii. 7 ff.

Chap. x. Alexander and his horse are seized by the Spirit and carried into the desert where live Enoch and Elijah, and they hold converse with him and describe the manner of the Life which they lead; in this country is the water of Life, and there is no death therein.[1] While they are talking the two saints are snatched away, and Alexander returns to his army.

Chap. xi. A fisherman catches fish in the water of Life and is unable to kill them even though he beats them to pieces with a stick, these fish live after they have been cut up and also when they are being cooked on the fire. On hearing

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[1] Compare Ζῶσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκείνην καὶ ἕως ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν οἱ γέροντες δἰ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίας; see Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii. 7. (Müller, p. 103, col. 1).

of this Alexander orders the fisherman to lead him to the stream where they were caught, and he promises to do so, but disappears during the night; when found the man curses Alexander and God, and though Alexander cuts his head off and mutilates him in various ways, the man cannot die because he has drunk of the water of life. Prayer of Alexander.

Summary of the "Christian Romance".

Chapp. xii—xvii. The six doors of the heart are the senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste and touch, and the power of movement.

Chapp. xviii, xix. The Spirit holds converse with Alexander.

Chap. xx. Alexander is grieved about the fate of his father Philip, who committed suicide by casting himself into the sea because of an observation in the astrolabe which shewed him that the Creator should be crucified, and pierced, and slain, and should die. The Spirit assures him, however, that he is reckoned among the martyrs, because he died for the sake of God; had he seen the Ascension and Resurrection he would not have thrown himself into the sea. The Spirit shews Alexander a sign whereby he may know when the hour of his death cometh.

Chap. xxi. Alexander gives all his possessions to the poor, and becomes like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, and lives upon green herbs, and fasts, and prays continually.

Chapp. xxii—xxiv. Alexander's counsels to women, to virgins, to parents, to wives, to princes and governors, to kings, and general exhortations.

Chap. xxv. Alexander's preparation of Christ's way upon earth.

Chap. xxvi. Philo's testimony to Alexander.

Chap. xxvii. Efforts of Alexander to please God.

Chap. xxviii. The Spirit warns Alexander of his approaching end, and he writes a letter to his mother Olympias to console her. The Lament of Olympias.

Chapp. xxix—xxxiii. Alexander and his friend Kômsât discuss the Resurrection. Kômsât disbelieves and demands proofs, and Alexander describes confidently in what manner the dead shall rise, quoting the XXXVIIth chapter of Ezekiel; finally a voice like thunder is heard inviting Alexander to come, in peace, to heaven, and the form of a hand, which shone more brightly than the sun, appeared and took his soul to glory.

Alexander and the scarlet cloak.

vi. In the curious document which records the history of the "Blessed Men" who lived in the days of Jeremiah the Prophet, we have another attempt to account for the origin of the sages whom Alexander visited, in India or Taprobane (see above, p. LI), and the episode of Alexander and the scarlet cloak, which occurs nowhere else in the other Ethiopic legends of Alexander. The story of Gerâsîmâs and his travels is interesting as shewing the alleged effect of the Alexander story upon the mind of this eminent monk; but the attempt which he made to corrupt the mind of his host in the Country of the Blessed is not creditable to him.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER,

BELONGING TO THE HOLY SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, [THE MERCIFUL], THE GRACIOUS.[1] WITH THE HELP OF GOD ALMIGHTY, AND WITH HIS GRACIOUS GIFT, WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE TRAVELS OF ALEXANDER WHO IS FAMOUS IN STORY. IT IS HE OF WHOSE HISTORY CERTAIN LEARNED MEN HAVE WRITTEN PORTIONS AND BEHOLD, WE WRITE ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SAGES WHO HAVE RECORDED HIS JOURNEYINGS AND RULE IN THE SEVEN[2] CLIMES OF THE WORLD, AND HIS TRAVELS FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST, AND HIS REIGN OVER [ALL] THE EARTH AND HIS MARCHES UNTO THE VERY LIMITS THEREOF, AND HIS VOYAGES ON THE SEA[3] WHICH HAD NEVER [BEFORE] BEEN CROSSED [BY ANY MAN], AND HIS TRAVELS THROUGH THE AIR, AND HIS ARRIVAL IN THE [LAND OF] DARKNESS, AND HIS JOURNEYINGS INTO PLACES WHITHER GOD GAVE HIM KNOWLEDGE TO GO, AND HIS CHIEF ACTS AND DEEDS.[4]

The title of the work.

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[1] *I. e.*, the Arabic formula بسم اللّه الرَّحمن الرّحيم with which every work begins.

[2] الاقاليم السبعة of the Arabic geographers. The first clime includes the country of Babel, Khorâsân, Persia, Ahwâz, Môsul and the mountainous territory round about: its Zodiacal signs are the Ram الحمل and Sagittarius القوس, and its planet

is Jupiter المشترى. The second clime includes Sind, India, and the Sûdân: its Zodiacal sign is Capricornus الجدى, and its planet Saturn زحل. The third clime includes Mecca, Medîna, Yaman, Tâʿif, Hijâz, and the country between: its Zodiacal sign is the Scorpion العقرب, and its planet Venus الزهرة. The fourth clime includes Egypt, Africa, Berber, Spain, and the countries lying between: its Zodiacal sign is Gemini الجوزا, and its planet is Mercury عطارد. The fifth clime includes Syria, Rûm, and Mesopotamia: its Zodiacal sign is Aquarius الدلو, and its planet the Moon القمر. The sixth clime includes the country of the Turks, Khazars, Dêlemites, and the Slavs: its Zodiacal sign is Cancer السرطان, and its planet Mars المريخ. The seventh clime includes the countries of Dêl and China: its Zodiacal sign is the Scales الميزان and its planet the Sun الشمس. See Masʿûdî, ed. Barbier de Meynard, tom. 1. pp. 181, 182; *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane, Paris, 1840, pp. 7, 8.

[3] **አልጰንጠስ ፡** (read **አልጰንጦስ ፡**) = πόντος + the Arabic article *al*: the Ethiopic translator considers it to be a proper name.

[4] *I. e.*, the volume containing the History of Alexander which belonged to the Church of the Holy Saviour of the World at Maḳdalâ. A very large number of the MSS. brought by the British Army from Ethiopia in 1868 have scrawled upon their fly-leaves **ዘቅዱስ ፡ መድኃኔ ፡ ዓለም ።** "belonging to the Holy Saviour of the World", and the style of writing shows that these words were added some time after the MSS. were written. For years before the English expedition into Abyssinia, Theodore had been carefully collecting MSS. from churches all over his country to form the library of the church which he intended to build in honour of the Redeemer of the World; this church was, however, never built. The old Church of the Redeemer of the World at Maḳdalâ stood, with the treasury and granaries, on one side of the open square which lay almost halfway between Kaffir-bir gate and Koket-bir gate, but nearer the former than the latter. It

Now[1] there lived in the land of Egypt a king who was called Beḳṭânîs[2] (Nectanebus), and he was a famous magician and a sage, and he was deeply learned in [all] the wisdom of the Egyptians. And he had more knowledge than all the wise men who knew what was in the depths [p. 2] of the Nile and in the abysses [thereof], and who were skilled in the knowledge of the stars and of their seasons, and in the knowledge of the astrolabe, and in the casting of nativities, and in foretelling what would happen unto him that had been born—for some[3] are born to a kingdom and others are brought into the world to [lead] a life of poverty and misery —and by his learning and by his observations of the stars Nectanebus was able to predict what

Nectanebus the magician the last king of Egypt

His knowledge and power.

was a wretched place, without pictures or even whitewashed walls, with no proper furniture and no clump of trees in the compound (See Markham, C. R., *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London, 1869, p. 355); it was burnt down by the order of Sir Robert Napier on April 17th. 1868. King Theodore was buried in the cloisters. The Histories of Alexander were found in the treasury, together with chalices, silver and bronze crosses, silk, velvets and carpets, besides "tons of Geez and Amharic manuscript books".

[1] For Greek texts see Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Paris, 1877; Meusel, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Leipzig, 1871.

[2] Beḳṭânîs, Nectanebus, Nectanabis, Nectanebes, Nectanebo, Nectabo, and other forms of the name are all corruptions of the Egyptian [hieroglyphs] *Nekht-neb-f*. The king referred to in the Alexander legends is Nectanebus II. who, about B. C. 358, was conquered by the Persians. John of Nikiu (ed. Zotenberg, p. 53) gives the form ስኸማናፉስ ፡

[3] Read እስመበ ፡

would befall any one who was about to be born. And by his knowledge[1] he reigned over all the kings of the earth, and all kings submitted unto him by reason of the mightiness of his powers of working magic.

Now as concerning this man, whenever [his] enemies lifted themselves up against him to do battle with him, he did not march out against them with soldiers, and armies, and an array of spears, but it was his wont to go into his palace, and to shut the door upon himself. He then took a brazen vessel, and having filled it with water to resemble the sea, he muttered over it certain words which he knew. If the enemy came against him [by sea] he used to make models of ships out of wax [melted] over a fire, and to place upon the water[2] these waxen ships, that were [intended] to represent the ships [of the enemy] which were on the sea. Then he muttered over them the names of the gods of the country,[3] and other awful and terrible names, and then he set the waxen ships on the water in his basin,[4] in resemblance of the ships which were on the sea. If the

His method of working magic.

Conquers armies and navies by his sorceries.

[1] In the MS. በጥቡበ፡ altered into በጥበቡ፡

[2] Read ማይ፡

[3] Literally "terrestrial gods"; that the gods of Egypt, however, are meant is clear from the Leyden MS. which reads καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ θεὸν Λιβύης Ἄμμωνα (Meusel, p. 706). Müller's chief Ms. has καὶ στὰς ἐπεκαλεῖτο ὡσανεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐπῳδῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀέρια πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας (p. 2, col. 1).

[4] Read መቅሉዩ፡ compare መቅለዩ፡ ዘብርት፡ p. 4, l. 7.

enemy rose up against him on the sea he made the waxen ships to sink, and he thereby also submerged the ships of the enemy who wished to come to do battle with him. And if it happened[1] [that the enemy came against him] by land he was wont to make models of the horse [men] in wax like unto the soldiers of the army who were coming to do battle with him, and having muttered over them the awful and terrible names [which he knew] the soldiers of the enemy were suddenly overcome before his face [p. 3], and the enemy went down before him, and submitted unto him. And these and such like things he was[2] wont to do unto whosoever wished to fight against him, and he never went out against an enemy who was marching against him with armies and fighting men,[3] Waxen soldiers.
but he made models of the soldiers of both armies in wax, one set [represented] his own army, and the other the army of the enemy, and he made a division between them; and having invoked by their names the gods of the country to help his army,[4] the two armies joined in battle, and the enemy was suddenly overcome before them.[5]

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[1] The MS. has ከነ፡ but read ኮነ፡

[2] Read ወኮነ፡ [3] Read ወኢበመስተቃትላን፡

[4] MS. has ትዕይንት፡ altered into ትዕይንቱ፡

[5] The custom of performing acts of sorcery by means of wax figures was a very old one among the Egyptians, and the papyri prove that ceremonies connected with the use of figures formed part of religious services. A certain overseer of cattle was prosecuted in a court of law for having made figures

And by doing these and such like things he reigned for many days, and he destroyed many [armies] by the power of his magic.

The end of his reign draws nigh.

And[1] it came to pass that when the days of his rule over Egypt were coming to an end, one of the scouts of his army came to him, and said, "O great king, help us to deliver thy kingdom, "and sit thou not silent in respect of the enemy.

of people in wax and for having caused paralysis to come upon them by these means. Whatever was done to the figure of a man, or whatever injury was inflicted upon it would, it was believed, also come upon the actual man, provided that the doing of the act was accompanied by the recitation of the names of certain fiends and demons and of certain formulae. From the earliest times in Egypt during funereal ceremonies certain religious acts were performed upon the statue of a man whereby the dead was believed to benefit, but the necessary formulae had to be recited by the priests before they were efficacious. The dead man enjoyed the offerings made to his statue provided all the words proper for the occasion were said, and all the accompanying ceremonies were duly performed. The eyes of the dead enjoyed relief when the eyes of his statue were smeared with stibium, and his mouth was opened and he gained the power of speech when the priest had touched the mouth of the statue with the instrument for "opening the mouth". From doing good to the dead to working evil upon the living by means of things done to figures of individuals was but a step, and in the last days of the Egyptian Empire under the Greeks and Romans the working of sorcery by means of figures became exceedingly common.

[1] See Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Bk. 1. chap. 2, and Meusel, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 706.

"For behold, nine[1] kings with their nine armies "have come forth against us, and with them are ["gathered together] nations and peoples which "cannot be counted by reason of their number, the "Madanâwîyân, the Sargîyâwîyân, the Ĕlḳîmanâ-"wîyân which are in Tarsês, the Antâwîyân, the "Halabâwîyân, the Saḳâgâfwîyân, the Emahnâwîyân, "the Agmâwîyân which are in Ḳâdes, the Guergue, "and the Saraḳâwîyân[2]; behold these mighty nations "have come against us, and let not thyself be sud-"denly overcome before them. We know not "whence our deliverance from them can come when "once we have joined battle with such multitudinous "nations as they and, moreover, the captain of their "host is a mighty man[3] in counsel, and we entreat thy "mightiness to help us [against] them." And when he had spoken these words Nectanebus the king laughed, and said, "Thou hast well spoken as concerning "what it is right for me to do, but I will not over-

Nectanebus warned by a scout of a league of hostile nations.

Nectanebus scoffs.

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[1] There is some mistake in the number here.

[2] It seems hopeless to attempt to identify these nations. Müller (p. 2, col. 2) gives them as Indians, Euonymites, Oxydraci, Iberians, Kaukoni, Aellophodi, Bosphorai, Bastarni, Azani, and Chalybi, and Meusel calls them Σκύθαι, κένσιρες, καύκωνες, ἴβηροι, στόδιοι, κυκλωσάνιοι, καὶ λαπάτες, καὶ σπόροι, καὶ ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ζάλβοι, καὶ χαλδαῖοι, καὶ μετωπόψορες, καὶ ἀγριοφάγοι, καὶ εὐωνυμίται (p. 707). The Syriac version (Budge, *Alexander*, p. 2) has a different set of names again. The scout who addressed Nectanebus probably enumerated the chief barbarian tribes which lived in the countries between Persia and Egypt.

[3] Read ኃያል ፡

"come these nations, neither will I conquer them with "warriors[1] and soldiers, but by the strength [p. 4] "of will and by keeping silence. I, however, tell "thee that one lion is able to vanquish a herd of "deer,[2] and that one wolf can put to flight a multitude "of sheep. Do thou, however, go to thy station "with thy soldiers, and I will put to rout the nations "which are [coming] against me—whether they "come by sea, or whether they come[3] by land— "with one single word".

Final appeal of Nectanebus to the gods.

And it came to pass after these things that[4] Nectanebus rose up and went into his palace and entered into the chamber where he worked magic, having left his soldiers behind. And it came to pass that when he looked on the water which was in the brazen basin, after having muttered [over it] the words with which he was wont to conjure (?), the gods of Egypt appeared unto him and he asked them to help him, and he perceived that they were leading[5] the armies which had come against him, and that they would not hearken unto him. Now hitherto it had happened by reason of the great skill in magic which Nectanebus possessed that he had been in the habit of holding converse with the gods whensoever he desired. And it came to pass that when he perceived that what he had done would not help him in any way whatsoever,

They refuse to help him.

[1] Read በመስተቃትላን ፡ [2] ኃያላተ ፡ for ሀያላት ፡

[3] Read በገዳምሪ ፡ [4] See Müller, Bk. 1, chap. 3.

[5] Literally, "they were before them".

and [knew] thereby that the days of his rule over Egypt had come to an end, he was exceedingly sorry. Then he rose up, and having taken with him as much gold and silver as ever he could carry, he carefully shaved his head and his beard, and having disguised himself[1] he went forth, and set out[2] on his way, and took a passage in a ship of Lônyâ (Lybia)[3]; and he arrived at the country of Macedonia[4] and sat in the gate [of the city] dressed as an astrologer[5] and as one of the prophets of Egypt.

His flight from Egypt to Macedonia.

Now the men of Egypt asked their god to tell them what had befallen their king, and their god[6]

The Egyptians consult their oracle about Nectanebus.

[1] Literally, "he changed his appearance".

[2] Read ሑሬ ፡ In the MS. ሐ and ሑ are often not to be distinguished.

[3] Literally, "in a ship of the ships of Lônyâ"; the Greek has (Müller, p. 3, col. 2) ἀποπλεύσας simply. The name ሎንያ ፡ occurs also in the following extract from Brit. Mus. Orient. Ms. No. 678, fol. 116a, col. 1.

ወኮነ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ተከፈሉ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ዓለም ፡ በጸሐፅየ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ማርቆስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይሑር ፡ ኀበ ፡ በሐውርተ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወነበረ ፡ ባቲ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ በሥምረቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወበተሠናእዎታ ፡ ለቅድስት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ዘሰበከ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ሎንያ ፡ ወመርቂያ ፡ ወሰበከ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ በወንጌል ፡ ወዜነዎሙ ፡ በአሚን ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ መድኀን ።

[4] Read መቄዶንያ ፡ [5] Literally "a seer of the stars"

[6] In Meusel's text (p. 707) the god asked is called "Hephaestus, the head of the race of the gods" τὸν προπάτορα τῶν θεῶν Ἥφαιστον, and in Müller's he is said to dwell in the Serapeum.

who was hidden in a place called[1] Sinope[2] appeared unto them, and spake unto them, saying, "Your "king hath fled and he will not again return to "Egypt, but henceforward [your king] shall be a "young and not an old man. And he will lightly "esteem every thing for the saving of his soul [p. 5] "in peace". And these words were reported among the Egyptians and they believed them.

Olympias consults Nectanebus.

And[3] it came to pass after some days that[4] Nectanebus [arrived] in Macedonia and he became well known[5] therein, and his fame was spread and noised abroad, and the rumour of his history and of the excellence of his knowledge reached Olympias the queen, and she wished to enquire of him and to find out from him concerning what had been decided upon by Philip her husband and concerning the matter of his putting her away by divorce. So she sent to him, and Nectanebus came to her, and she appeared in his presence in royal[6] raiment of great price, and he marvelled at her beauty and fair form, and his heart was ravished by her. And he said to her, "Peace be upon thee, O queen of

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[1] In the MS. ዘይሰመዲ ፡ altered into ዘይሰመይ ፡

[2] Meusel's text (p. 707) has ὁ δὲ ἔπεμψεν αὐτοὺς διὰ χρησμῳδίας πρὸς τὸν ἀόρατον τοῦ Σινωπίου.

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. 1, chap. 4 (Müller, p. 4, Meusel, p. 708).

[4] The MS. has ዘላቡቅጣኒስ ፡

[5] I have translated as if the text had ወኢይዴዐ ፡

[6] Read ንግሥታዊት ፡

"Macedonia", but she neither spake to him, nor made answer to him, nor returned his salutation to him. And again he spake unto her, saying, "O my lady"[1]—now to those who were of noble birth he was wont to speak as nobles speak, and to give orders unto them—"why hast thou not "made answer unto me?" Now when she heard this she marvelled, and she said unto him, "Upon "thee be peace, O good master, my noble lord, seat "thyself". And when he had sat down she said unto him, "Art thou in very truth one of the "prophets of Egypt whose works and knowledge "are famous, even as those who have become "acquainted with and had experience of the deeds, "and skill, and knowledge, narrate concerning thee?" And again Olympias the queen said unto him, "They have told me that out of the abundance of "thy knowledge thou canst declare that which will "happen before it cometh to pass." Then Nectanebus answered and said unto her, "Yea. Those "who have knowledge of the orbs of heaven are "of many kinds. Some are interpreters of dreams, "and some have knowledge of what shall happen "in the future, and some understand omens, and some "cast nativities, and there are, besides, all those who "know [how to work] magic and who are renowned because they are learned in their art, and "some are skilled in the motions of the stars of

The various kinds of workers in magic.

[1] The MS. actually has **አእግዝእትየ ፡**

"heaven: but I have full knowledge of all these "things."

And after [he had spoken] these things he gazed at Olympias with an angry and terrible eye, and she said unto him, "Why dost thou look at me "with such a terrible gaze?" And he said unto her[1] [p. 6], "I call to mind what [once] happened "to me, and how my god spake unto me, saying, "There shall come to thee a royal person[2], and I "made certain that these words were true when I "came unto thee, for thou art a queen, and thou "hast dominion in thee. Ask me now what thou "wouldst, and I will tell thee concerning that which "thou askest". Then he put his hand into his bosom and brought forth a golden table [studded] with precious stones, and upon it were inscribed the emblems of the seven planets which were set over the hours[3] of the night and day. Now their names were these:—Jupiter,[4] which was [a

The table with the planets.

[1] Read ወይቤላ ፡

[2] According to the Greek we should read ንግሥት ፡ for ንጉሥ ፡

[3] Read ሰዓታት ፡

[4] In the Greek text of Müller (p. 5, col. 1) the sun was represented by a crystal, the moon by a diamond, Jupiter by a beryl (ἀέρινος), Saturn by a serpentine stone, Aphrodite by a sapphire, and Mercury by an emerald, but no mention is made of Mars; in Meusel's text all seven planets are mentioned. In the Syriac text, as Prof. Margoliouth and M. Duval have pointed out, the name of Saturn is omitted; see *Classical Review*, June 1890, p. 259, and *Notes de Lexicographie Syriaque et Arabe*, Paris, 1893, p. 12. The names

beryl][1]; the Sun, which was[2] a crystal; the Moon, which was of adamant[3]; Mars, which was a haematite stone;[4] Mercury, which was an emerald[5]; Aphrodite, which was a sapphire; [and Saturn, which was a serpentine stone].[6] Now he was a man wise, and understanding, and much skilled in knowledge. And it came to pass that when Olympias saw this she marvelled, and she sat down looking on in wonder[7] at the beauty of the workmanship of the table,[8] and commanding [him] to pay no heed

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of the planets in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic may be thus tabulated:

Sun	ܫܡܫܐ	الشمس	ፀሐይ ፡
Moon	ܣܗܪܐ	القمر	ወርኅ ፡
Mars	ܚܠܫܐ	المريخ	እልመሪኽ ፡
Mercury	ܥܛܪܕܐ	العطارد	ዐጣርድ ፡
Jupiter	ܒܠ	المشترى	እልመስተሪ ፡
Aphrodite	ܟܘܟܒܬܐ	الزهرة	እዝሖራ ፡
Saturn	ܟܐܘܢ	الزحل	ዙሐል ፡ or ሱሐል ፡

[1] Read እልመስተሪ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ብሉር ፡ (بَلُّور), which would fairly well translate τὸν Δία αἰθερίτου (Meusel, p. 708): ዘውስተ ፡ is obviously a mistake for ዘውእቱ ፡

[2] We must strike out ፪.

[3] ማሕው ፡ is properly "glass, crystal", but as all the versions give *adamant* I have so translated the word.

[4] እልማንዲስ ፡ is probably corrupt. The Greek has τὸν Ἄρεα αἱματίτου, which the Syriac version (ed. Budge, p. 5) expands into "a red stone, the colour of blood".

[5] Read ዘመረግድ ፡?

[6] Like the Syriac, the Ethiopic version makes no mention of Saturn.

[7] In the MS. ወታንበር ፡ has been altered into ወታንከር ፡

[8] MS. ላሰሌዳ ፡

whatsoever unto all those who were there, she questioned Nectanebus the sage concerning her own days, and concerning those of her husband Philip, and what he would say to her when he returned from the war, and whether he would decide to take another woman to wife. Then Nectanebus answered and said unto her, "Tell me "the day of thy birth, and the day whereon thy "husband was born." And he calculated the day of her birth, and the day of his birth—now he knew how to do this in his wisdom—and he said unto her, "Verily it is as thou sayest, and it "is no lie. But I am able to help thee after the "manner of the prophets of Egypt, and moreover, "there shall be one who shall be thy helper, and "he shall avenge thee upon him". Then Olympias answered and said unto him, "And who is this?" And Nectanebus said to her, "I will bring[1] unto "thee the gods who come forth from beneath the "earth, and they shall come in to thee and they shall "hold converse with thee, and then wilt [p. 7] thou "get from them that which shall make thee glad. "And behold a son shall be born of thee and he "shall avenge thee if Philip doeth injury unto "thee". And the queen said unto him, "What, "now, is his name?" [and Nectanebus said],[2] "Ammon,[3]

Nectanebus casts Olympias' nativity.

He foretells the birth of a son whose father shall be a god.

[1] Read አምጽእኩ ፡

[2] Some such words must be added as the Greek has Νεκταναβὼς εἶπε.

[3] For አመ ፡ ማበ ፡ we must read either አሞን ፡ or አሙን ፡ Ammon.

"the god of Lônyâ (Libya)."[1] And Olympias said, "What will he be like, a young or an old man?" And Nectanebus answered and said unto her, "He "will be fair of visage, and noble in stature, and "without a beard, and he will have [upon his head] "two rams' horns; indeed he is a fitting [spouse] "for a woman who is a queen. But behold, in a "dream thou shalt see him that will sleep with thee." Then Olympias said unto him, "If I see him in "a dream and he doeth thus unto me, I will wor-"ship him[2] as a god, and not as a man."

Nectanebus sends a dream to Olympias.

And[3] it came to pass after these things that Nectanebus went out to the fields, and gathered certain plants having magical properties which he knew of, and he pressed out their juice and pounded them,[4] and made of them a figure of a woman; and he inscribed upon it the characters of the name[5] of Olympias and then cast it into the fire.[6] And he laid it down to sleep, and recited incantations

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[1] ሉንያ ፡ = ሊብያ ፡? compare ὁ τῆς Λιβύης κεραὸς πλουτηφόρος Ἄμμων (Meusel, p. 709).

[2] The point of the narrative is missed here, but we might read ለከ ፡ for ሎቱ ፡

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 5 (Müller, p. 5, Meusel, p. 709).

[4] The reading of this word is uncertain, for the letters ገዮን ፡ are written over an erasure.

[5] Literally "the form of her name".

[6] In the Latin version (Müller, p. 6, col. 1) Nectanebus pours the juice of the herbs upon the wax figure "succum herbarum potentium superfundit".

and the names [of gods] over it, and the spirit of a demon seized Olympias, in the name of Ammon,[1] who went unto her and worked his will with her. Now when he rose up from her, he said unto her, "Behold, thou hast conceived a male child,[2] O woman, "and he shall shed glory upon thee, and he shall "avenge thee."

Olympias dreams that she is united unto the god Ammon.

And[3] when Olympias awoke from her sleep she marvelled, and sent for the magician, that is to say for Nectanebus, and told him what had happened, and what had befallen her with the god of the country concerning whom he had spoken. And[4] [she said to him], "Now I desire to know him in "very deed, and I wish thee to finish thy work and "to bring him[5] to me, [but tell me beforehand][6] that "I may make ready, and be to him[7] a bride." Then Nectanebus answered and said unto her, "Everything which hath happened to thee up to "this present, O my lady, and everything which "thou hast seen is a dream, although, in truth, a "god did come unto thee. But if thou desirest "that this god should come [p. 8] unto thee in his "very person, give me a place near unto thee

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[1] Read **አመማን** :? [2] Read **በተባዕት** :

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 6 (Müller, p. 6, Meusel, p. 709).

[4] Some word like **ወይቤሎ** : seems to have fallen out of the text; compare the Gr. καί φησιν.

[5] Read **ወታመጽኦ** :?

[6] Suggested by the Greek κἀγὼ ἑτοιμοτέρα τῷ νυμφίῳ φανῶ. [7] Read **ወእከውኖ** :

Olympias bids Nectanebus fulfil his promises.

"wherein I may pray."[1] And Olympias said to him, "Take thou this chamber[2] which is behind "this place, and if I find that I do in very truth "become with child, I will honour thee as a king, "and I will hold thee to be the father of the child." Nectanebus said to her, "When this god of the "country cometh[3] unto thee this shall be the sign. "A serpent shall glide before thee, and when thou "seest him dismiss all those who are sitting round "about thee, but do not extinguish the lamp which "burneth by thy side. Only, take heed when thou "liest down upon thy couch to cover over thy face, "and do not look at the god of the country who "shall come on to thy couch unto thee." And having said this he went out from her chamber. And it came to pass on the morrow that she sent him to a chamber behind her own and she gave him a place wherein to dwell near her.[4]

Nectanebus disguises himself.

Then[5] Nectanebus took soft rams' wool, and the horns of a ram, and a crown,[6] and he put on white raiment, and he took with him the skin(?)

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[1] *I. e.*, entreat him on thy behalf.

[2] Read መንበር ፡ [3] ምጽአቱ ፡ altered into ምጽአቶ ፡

[4] Read በአግዋሪሃ ፡

[5] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I, chap. 7 (Müller, p. 7, Meusel, p. 710).

[6] The Egyptian monuments supply many examples of Amen-Rā with a ram's head and horns, but it is not easy to account for the introduction of the serpent; for the principal forms of the god see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, tav. XVIII ff.

of a serpent,[1] and went into his chamber; and when the night had come, behold the serpent of whom he had told Olympias glided into her chamber before her. And it came to pass that when Olympias saw him, she was afraid and greatly terrified, even though she was expecting the arrival of the god of the country, and she ordered those who were with her to depart each to his place. Then she laid herself down upon her couch, and covered up her face, but kept her eyes uncovered, and behold she saw Ammon[2] come to her having a crown upon his head similar to that which she had seen upon him in her dream, besides the other crown which was upon his head. And he came up upon her couch and he slept with her, lying on his right side,[3] and he gave her seed, saying unto her, "Receive, O woman, a mighty "and victorious seed, which shall never be put to "shame. And behold thou hast conceived a male "child, and he shall help thee, and shall avenge "[p. 9] thee, and he shall rule over all the ends "of the world."

He appears in the form of a serpent.

He is united unto Olympias.

And it came to pass after he had said these things to her that Nectanebus went out from her to a fountain which was near to a temple of idols,

[1] The Greek is καὶ τρίβωνα καθαρώτατον δρακοντιοῦντα, and the Latin, *efficit ex scientia reliquum corpus veluti draconem* (Müller, p. 7).

[2] Read ለአመማን፡

[3] Read በገቦሁ፡

and washed therein. And one of the king's mares came to the fountain and drank of its waters, and she became with foal straightway: now this took place[1] at the exact time when the queen, the wife of Philip conceived.[2] A mare conceives.

And on the morrow Nectanebus returned to his place, and hid the crown in his chamber. And when it was morning Olympias the queen rose up [and went][3] to Nectanebus in his chamber, and said unto him, "O noble one". Now he made as if he had been asleep, and as if he had just risen from his slumber, and he said unto her, "Upon thee "be peace, O my lady. What dost thou command "thy servant [to do]?" And she said unto him, "It hath happened unto me even as thou didst "say unto me." And he said unto her, "Behold, "I rejoice at this thing, O woman, and I am glad "for thee." Then she said [unto him], "Is there "any way by which [this god] can return to me? "For I love him dearly, even as a woman loveth "her husband; moreover, it is not meet that I should "hide anything from thee, and I am sore smitten "with love for him." Now Nectanebus rejoiced when love for him entered into the heart of the queen, and he said unto her, "Listen to me, O "Olympias, I am a prophet of the god. When- Olympias seeks Nectanebus.

[1] Read ወኮነ ፡

[2] This paragraph has no equivalent in the Greek or Syriac.

[3] The Greek has καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα (Müller, p. 7).

"soever thou desirest to be consoled[1] by him and "that he should come to thee, [I can arrange the "matter]. But give me a place nigh unto thee, "wherein I may sleep, and where I can perform "my work alone and work holiness[2] so that he may "come unto thee." And she said unto him, "O my "brother, I will do this, and I will give thee the "key of that chamber." So he dwelt there in hiding, and he used to come unto her as if he himself were Ammon, and it came to pass that whenever Olympias wished to speak with the sage concerning the [god] he used to come [p. 10] to her; and he came to her every time she wanted him.

He lives with her in the palace.

And when Olympias had conceived, and she had become great with child, she said unto Nectanebus, "O Prophet, what shall I do when Philip "shall come, and shall find that I am with child?" And he said unto her, "Fear thou not, O my lady, "for Ammon will help thee in this thing also. "When Philip shall come and shall see thee, be "strong, and fear not, neither be thou distressed "because of him." Thus he went unto her at all times, and whensoever he desired. And when she had conceived and had become great with child, she said to him, "O Prophet, what will "happen to me when Philip shall come and shall "find that I have conceived and am great with "child?" And Nectanebus said, "Fear not, O my "lady, for Ammon will help thee in this. When

Olympias fears the return of her husband.

Nectanebus comforts her.

[1] Read ተናዘዞ ፡ [2] Read ቅድስት ፡

"Philip shall come and shall see that which hath "come upon thee, be strong, and fear not, neither "be thou afraid of him." Thus did he blacken the heart of Olympias by the might of his sorcery.

Then[1] Nectanebus took a swift bird,[2] and muttered over it certain charms[3] and names [of gods][4], and he ordered it to fly betwixt heaven and earth, and in one day and one night it traversed many lands, and countries, and seas, and it came to Philip by night and stopped [there]. And it came to pass at that very hour and on that very night that Philip saw a marvellous dream, for being moved and stirred by the bird, he saw as it were one of the gods of the earth, who was exceedingly beautiful in form, and who had upon his head a horn, and whose head and beard were shaven, come to queen Olympias and sleep with her. And the god said to her, "Behold thou hast conceived "of me a child, who will protect thee and who will "avenge thee on Philip."[5] [And when Philip awoke he sent straightway for an interpreter of dreams and told him what he had seen. And he said], "I, "Philip, saw the womb of the queen, but it was

Nectanebus sends a dream to Philip.

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. 1, chap. 8 (Müller, p. 8, Meusel, p. 710). [2] Gr. ἱέρακα πελάγιον.

[3] ቀላት ፡ altered into ቃላት ፡ [4] Read ወእስማት ፡?

[5] Some words having the following meaning have probably dropped out of the text. In the Greek the whole dream is described without a break, and it is only when the touch of the bird's wings has awakened him that he seeks to find out the meaning of the dream.

"swelled out, and it seemed as if it was about to "burst, and it was heavy; and there was upon it "the seal [p. 11] of a golden ring, [upon one[1] side "of which had been engraved] the sun, and a head "of a lion and a spear on the other.[2] And again "I saw a bird flying above my head, and then I "awoke from my dream; now what do these things "indicate?" And the interpreter of dreams said "unto him, "What thou hast seen in thy dream "is true. Now inasmuch as thou hast seen the "womb of a woman which was great [with child] "and which was sealed, [this sheweth that the woman] "had been given in marriage and that man had "known her; and moreover the seal is a safeguard.[3] "And that the woman hath conceived is mani-"fest, because no man taketh care to protect[4] the "empty vessel of the potter. Inasmuch as it is "gold with which she is sealed, [the seed] is not "that of a foreigner, but of Egypt.[5] Moreover, as "concerning her conception, it hath not been caused

Description of the dream.

The augur explains it.

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[1] The text here seems to be corrupt; the Gr. has ὑπενόησε δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς Νειλῴᾳ βίβλῳ καταρράπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ σφραγίζειν δακτυλίῳ χρυσῷ ἐν λίθῳ γλυφὴν ἔχοντι κεφαλὴν λέοντος, ἡλίου κράτος καὶ δοράτιον (Meusel, p. 711) and ἦν δὲ ὁ δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἔχων λίθον, καὶ ἐν τῷ λίθῳ ἐκτύπωμα ἡλίου καὶ κεφαλὴν λέοντος καὶ δοράτιον (Müller, p. 8). [2] Read ፩እምገበዋቲሁ ፡

[3] Read እሙን ፡? [4] Read ኢይክድኑ ፡

[5] The translator has missed the point about the papyrus mentioned in the Greek περὶ δὲ τὸ καταῤῥάπτειν βυβλίῳ, οὐδαμοῦ βύβλος γεννᾶται εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· Αἰγυπτία οὖν ἡ σπορὰ τυγχάνει (Müller, p. 9, col. 1).

"by a poor or mean man, but by a being who is "mighty, and exalted, and honourable. And there "is nothing which men honour more than gold, for "it is the desire of kings, and therewith[1] [men] "ornament Christian temples. And the interpre-"tation of the sun by the side of it is that the "child shall come from the east and [shall go] even "to the west, and that he shall be a mighty man and "as terrible as a lion,[2] and that he shall conquer "the nations with his sword. And as concerning "the god of the country whom thou didst see with "ram's horns upon his head, and shaven of head "and beard, this is the god of Lybia.[3] The inter-"pretation of thy dream is this." Now when Philip[4] heard that Olympias had conceived he rejoiced greatly.

Return of Philip.

So[5] Philip[6] returned from the war and came

[1] Read ወበቱ ፡

[2] "And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion. Most of the interpreters believed the dream announced some reason to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct. But Aristander of Themesus said, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant: for a seal is never put upon any thing that is empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lionlike courage." Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, Langhorne's Translation.

[3] See above, p. 9, note 3. [4] Read ፊልጶስ ፡

[5] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I, chap. 9 (Müller, p. 9, Meusel, p. 711).

[6] Read ፊልጶስ ፡

back to his palace in Macedonia, and Olympias was afraid by reason of that which had come upon her. And when Philip saw[1] that she was terrified at him, he said unto her, "Fear not, O woman, "neither be afraid, for thou hast had no power in "this matter, and thou art blameless of this fault, "even as it hath been shewn unto me in a dream, "and no disgrace shall come upon thee. For I am "able [to contend] in everything, and with every-"thing [p. 12] except the gods. It is none of my "soldiers who hath made love to thee, neither hast "thou lusted for a handsome young man, but it is "the god Ammon himself who hath come unto "thee." And when he had said these things, he encouraged her and she gave thanks to the Prophet who had foretold these things.

He comforts Olympias.

And[2] it came to pass that Philip lived with Olympias in the palace, and Nectanebus lived there also although Philip saw him not. And one day Philip was saying to his wife, "O woman, thou "hast lied unto me with thy words, for thou art "not with child by the god Ammon, but by some "adulterer, and behold, he shall fall into my hands"; now Nectanebus heard these words. And all those who were in the palace were making rejoicings, and [only] Philip was sad at[3] the conception of

Philip's wrath.

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1 Read ርእየ፡

2 See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. 1, chap. 10 (Müller, p. 9, Meusel, p. 711).

3 Read በእንተ፡

Olympias. Then did Nectanebus change his form and appearance and become a huge snake, much greater than he was before, and as he glided along the ground all those who were in the royal palace were struck with terror and amazement, and they marvelled when they saw him, and they fled from before him and his hissings. Then Olympias, knowing that the serpent was her lover, stretched out her right hand to him, and the serpent rested the hair of his beard upon her knees, and he kissed her mouth;[1] this the serpent did openly, and shewed himself to all beholders. And Philip was terrified and was sore afraid.[2] Then Nectanebus, that is to say the serpent, changed himself straightway into an eagle, and he flew away and no man knew whither he went. When Philip came to himself from his terror, he said, "I have seen a sign from "this serpent [of his love for thee] and my heart "and mind are [not] doubtful concerning what he "said, Ammon shall help thee, O woman. But

Nectanebus, disguised as a serpent frightens Philip.

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[1] "A serpent was also seen lying by Olympias as she slept, which is said to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than anything, insomuch that he seldom repaired to her bed afterwards: whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces because he thought them taken up by some superior being." Plutarch, *op. cit.*

[2] It is said that Philip lost one of his eyes, which was that which he applied to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a serpent. Plutarch, *op. cit.*

"who is Ammon [p. 13] that I do know [him] not? "This [ariseth] because the magicians have depicted "him in the form of him[1] who is alike a counter-"part of the sun[2] and of Ammon."[3] Then the queen said to him, "His voice was thus when he "[first] came[4] to me and said that he was Am-"mon, the god of all Lybia." Now when the king heard this from her his heart rejoiced because [the fatherhood of] a child should be attributed unto him.

A bird lays an egg in Philip's lap.

And[5] it came to pass some time afterwards that Philip was sitting in [his] garden on a certain day under the trees; now there were many birds[6] therein picking up their food and there were there full-grown birds together with their young. And one of the birds[7] came and nestled herself in Philip's lap, and laid her egg there, [and it rolled] upon the ground and was broken,[8] and straightway there came forth [from the shell] a little serpent, which went round about it, and then came back wishing to go into the place from whence it had come forth, and it was not able to

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[1] Assuming that መስተሪ፡ = እልመስተሪ፡ *i. e.*, Jupiter.

[2] The Greek has ἔδειξε γὰρ ἐμοὶ θεοῦ Ἄμμωνος μορφὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ (Meusel, p. 712).

[3] Read ወእምሳለ፡ አሞንና፡

[4] Read ይበውዕ፡

[5] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. 1, chap. 11 (Müller, p. 10, Meusel, p. 712).

[6] Read አዕዋፍ፡ [7] Read እምአዕዋፍ፡

[8] The Greek has καὶ ἀποκυλισθὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ πεσὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπερράγη.

do so, and straightway died.[1] And Philip sent and called[2] Abdîḳôn[3] the interpreter of dreams, for he was much skilled in these things, and he told him concerning the bird, and concerning the egg, and concerning the serpent which went round about it and went into it, and concerning the death of the serpent. Then the interpreter of dreams meditated and made him to know concerning the import of these things, and he spake unto him, saying, "There shall be given unto thee a son, "and this son shall go round about throughout the "whole world. By his power he shall ride over "his own kinsfolk, and in his dominion he shall be "lord over all kings, and he shall never be con- "quered. But his days shall be few, and being in "his early manhood he shall die; for the serpent "must be interpreted as representing a king, and "the egg is the world. And inasmuch as the "serpent went forth from the egg, and then turned "back to it, and went round about it seeking to "enter into it again, but was not able so to do "[p. 14] because death came upon it swiftly,

The augur explains its significa- tion.

[1] Read ወሞተ ። [2] Read ወአጸውዖ ።

[3] The Greek texts do not give the name of the σημειολύτης for whom Alexander sent, but the Latin version mentions an Antiphon (Rex denique Antiphontem, qui conjector id temporis egregius habebatur, arcessiri jubet) who may be the author of the work on the interpretation of dreams referred to by Cicero *De divinatione*, I. 20, 51; II. 70. The Syriac version also has preserved the name of the man who there is called "the chief of the Chaldeans".

"[even so shall he go round the world, and shall "not be able to return to his place because death "shall overtake him]."[1] And when he had said these things Philip gave him rich gifts, and honoured him exceedingly.

The hour of Olympias draws nigh.

Now[2] when the days drew nigh that Olympias the queen should be delivered, she took her place upon the midwife's seat, and Nectanebus was standing by her side that he might observe the lucky moment when the celestial bodies and the moon should have culminated and should be in a position favourable [for the birth of the child], and might keep away baleful influences; now he had knowledge and skill where by he was able to foretell what would happen in all the world. And he said to the queen, "Be strong, and of good cheer, and

Augury of Nectanebus.

"take good heed that thou restrain thyself from "giving birth in this hour, for whosoever is born[3] "in this hour shall be a weak man, and of no "reputation, and of abject condition"; so the woman restrained herself, and kept fast hold upon herself so as not to give birth to the child, and she held her with a mighty restraint. And Nectanebus said

[1] It seems as if some words bearing the meaning of those in brackets have dropped out of the text, and this view is supported by the Syriac version which adds, "even so in this manner, when he has traversed the whole world and returns to enter his own land, he will die" (ed. Budge, p. 11).

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. 1, chap. 12 (Müller, p. 11, Meusel, p. 713).

[3] Read ዘተወልደ ፡

to her, "Restrain thyself yet a little longer", and as he said this he saw that the birth-pangs were gaining power over her, and he laid his hand upon her womb that the child might not come forth; and he made her to restrain herself, and he was rejoiced that she was able to do so. And he held her thus until a favourable hour rose in the heavens,[1] and until the paths [*or* courses] of the world were straight, and all evil had removed itself from the moon, and glory had appeared, and lucky signs shewed themselves in all the world.[2] Then he said unto the queen, "Give birth now, "for whosoever is born in this hour shall be a "king who shall rule over all the world." So Olympias gave birth to her child straightway, and there were thunders, and lightnings, and earthquakes, and crashes of thunder mingled with lightnings in the heavens, and the whole world was terrified.

The favourable hour comes.

A child is born.

And Philip[3] came in to see the child which had been born, for his birth had been accompanied by signs, and thunders, and earthquakes throughout the whole world; and he marvelled, and said, "Call

He is called Alexander.

[1] Read በውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡

[2] It will be noticed that the Ethiopic version omits all mention of the Signs of the Zodiac, and of the influence which they were supposed to have on human beings, which are given in the Greek of Müller's Codex A and in the Syriac version.

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. 1, chap. 13 (Müller, p. 12, Meusel, p. 713).

"him Alexander according to the name of my dead "child [p. 15] who was born to me by my [former] "wife Cleopatra who is now dead." And it came to pass when Philip had said this, that honours were paid unto Alexander by cities, and by countries, by the country of Phrygia, and by the land of Macedonia,[1] and by all the countries and nations which were under his rule. And Philip did not any longer multiply words concerning the begetting and conception of Alexander, for signs and wonderful things were heard concerning him.

Alexander's personal appearance.

And it came to pass that after a time he left his mother's breast, and he grew little by little. Now he was neither like Philip,[2] nor Olympias his mother,[3] nor Nectanebus, but his form, and appearance, and likeness were quite different. For his hair was like the mane of a lion; and each of his eyes was unlike the other, the right eye being black, and the left eye light green;[4] and his teeth were long and narrow like those of a stag;[5] and the sound of his voice was as the roaring of a

[1] The Greek has Pella and Thrace, and the Syriac Thrace and Macedonia.

[2] Read ኢፊልጶስ ፡

[3] "He was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant that they perfumed his undergarments." Plutarch, *op. cit.*

[4] Gr. τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν κατοφερῆ ἔχων τὸν δὲ εὐώνυμον γλαυκόν (Müller, p. 12. col. 2).

[5] Gr. ὡς δράκοντος (Müller, p. 12. col. 2).

lion, and he shewed himself to be distinguished in every way.

And when Philip knew that his son Alexander had arrived at the age of seven years, he gave him to the heathen sage[1] that he might teach him the learning of the Greeks, and he taught him philosophy, and letters, and the working of magic, and the [knowledge of the] stars, and of [their] seasons (?), and every branch of learning which can be mentioned, and he loved him with a deep love.[2] And it came to pass that he went up with Alexander one day to the tops of the mountains to shew him how the stars rose, and their places in the sky, and this master, by reason of his great love for him, embraced him on the mountain, and said unto him, "Verily, "thou art my son, and God knoweth that thou art "my son, and I slept with thy mother in the house "of the gods, and she conceived thee; and take "heed that thou hold not my word lightly, for I "am a mighty king. I am Nectanebus, the king "of Egypt, and [p. 16] thou art the fruit[3] of a

Alexander's education.

Nectanebus declares himself to Alexander.

[1] Literally, "master of a house of idols".

[2] The Ethiopic text mentions none of the tutors of Alexander whose names are recorded by Plutarch and Pseudo-Callisthenes. According to the latter authority Nectanebus, whom Olympias still employed as a magician in the palace, promised to shew Alexander the planets in the sky at eventide, in answer to the request of the boy who had seen him casting the horoscope for Olympias by means of models of them. See Müller, p. 14.

[3] Read ጽጌ ፡

"sweet odour which springeth from a tree that "blossometh; know thou this." Now when Alexander heard these words from him he became furiously angry and he lifted himself up against him, and threw him down from the mountain,[1] and his body was broken to pieces, and his soul went to the bottommost hell.[2]

Alexander kills Nectanebus.

And when Alexander found himself with his father, Philip enquired of him diligently concerning the priest of idols; and Alexander said unto him,[3] "I have killed him, O my father," and Philip said, "What had he done?" Then Alexander answered and said unto him, "Ask me not concerning him, "for what he did was a marvellous thing; but behold he is dead and hath gone to perdition."[4] When Philip heard these words from his son he sent to Aristotle, the philosopher, and brought him and delivered unto him his son that he might teach him the learning of the Greeks. And the boy grew up, and waxed strong, and became a man, and was of good judgment.

Alexander educated by Aristotle.

[1] In the Greek Alexander is made to push Nectanebus down the mountain more in mischief than anger, because while examining carefully the heavens Nectanebus forgot a pit which yawned at his side, and it is only after he is mortally wounded that he declares his relationship to him.

[2] Clearly the remark of the Christian translator.

[3] Literally, "and his son said to him".

[4] In the Greek (Müller, p. 15, Meusel, p. 716) Alexander discusses the matter with his mother, and having brought home the body of Nectanebus, like a new Aeneas bringing back his Anchises, it is properly buried.

Now Philip, his father, was wont to pay tribute to the king of Persia, for [Darius] was the first who had ruled over the land of the kingdom of Nimrod,[1] the mighty man, and he it was who had, in times of old, put on the royal crown [of that country]. Now it was Nimrod who in times of old appeared in[2] the cloud,[3] and he borrowed [from it]

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[1] According to Masʿûdî (ed. Barbier de Meynard, tom. iii, p. 96) Nimrod the giant, الجبّار was the first king of Babel and he reigned about sixty years; he dug numerous canals which drew their water from the Euphrates. In his reign Abraham was born (*op. cit.*, tom. i, p. 83), and the Jews have a tradition that he cast him into a fiery oven (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Bd. 1, pp. 490—492).

[2] Read **በውስተ ፡**

[3] According to the *Book of Adam and Eve* (ed. Malan, p. 173) Nimrod saw a cloud of light, which was an apparition of Satan, and coveting its beauty he ordered Santal, a carver, to make him a golden crown like unto it. Santal made the crown and Nimrod wore it, wherefore it was said that a cloud had come down from heaven, and overshadowed him, and he became so wicked as to think within himself that he was God. According to Arabic tradition he tried to ascend into heaven by building a tower five thousand cubits high, and when God had overthrown it he tried to ascend thither in a chest borne by four huge birds; but after he had wandered about in the air for some time he fell down on to a mountain with such force that it made the mountain shake. Elsewhere we are told that, for his wickedness, God sent a gnat into his brain through his nostril or ear, which grew larger every day and caused him such severe pain that he had his head beaten with a hammer to procure some ease. He suffered this torture for four hundred years. See Sale,

its likeness, and put it on; and it was he who worshipped Sat, and who established priests to burn incense at stated seasons in regular order, and it was he who spread abroad the Magian creed, and [who taught men] to marry their mothers, and sisters, and daughters.[1] And all other kings feared the king of Persia, and they were terrified at his majesty, and paid him tribute.

The origin of Magianism.

And it came to pass about this time that ambassadors of Darius the king of Persia came to Philip, and when they had come and were standing in Philip's presence, they demanded that the tribute [due to] their king should be paid according to custom. Now Alexander's chamber was [situated] above the road, and he could see who passed by and who came. And when he saw that ambassadors had come [for tribute], [p. 17] he commanded that they should be brought into his presence, and they came, and he questioned them concerning [the reason of] their coming. And they said unto him, "We are "ambassadors of Darius, the king of Persia, and "we have come to carry back the tribute [due] "from all kings to him according to custom." And Alexander said unto them, "Get ye back to your

The ambassadors of Darius demand tribute from Philip.

Alexander questions them.

Koran, pp. 196, 246. Some ancient ruins near Hillah bear the name "Birs Nimrûd" to this day.

[1] See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 287 ff, 450, 451; Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. 1, p. 63; Budge, *Book of Governors*, ii, pp. 606, 607. The Magians were fire-worshippers, and their name is derived from the word مغ "fire".

"friend, and say unto him that we will neither pay "tribute to him[1] nor be subject unto him. And "further I myself will come unto him in a very "short time, and I will avenge myself upon "him with my army, and I will ride upon my horse "which was begotten[2] with me and I will fight "with him,[3] and will slay him, and he shall not "abide in this [world] if God the most High "willeth. And I would inflict chastisement upon "you, only it is not right to punish an ambas- "sador." So the ambassadors returned to their king speedily, and they told him of what had befallen them.

And sends them away.

Then Darius was perplexed, and he said unto his friends,[4] "This boy does not understand that "which a man[5] saith unto him. Now I cannot punish "his parents for his faults, but I will send another "embassy unto him." So he sent a second time a great number of ambassadors, so that Alexander might boast about it and think that Darius was the king of kings, and that besides himself no other king existed. And he sent a golden box filled with grains, that is to say with oil-seeds, and in it [also] was a pearl.[6]

Second embassy of Darius.

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1 Read ኢንሁቦ፡

2 The meaning seems to be, "which was begotten at the same time as I was"; see above p. 19.

3 Read ወእትቃተሎ፡

4 The MS. actually has ለፍቁራኒኒሁ፡

5 Read ዘይትናገር፡

6 According to the Greek Darius sent a whip, and a ball,

E 2

And it came to pass that when the ambassadors came to Alexander, and they had given unto him the letters which were sent with them and he had opened them and had read them, he went up to his father's throne, and having taken his seat thereon, he took the golden box, and opened it, and found therein the oil-seed and the pearl. And he said unto those who had been associated with his father, "O wise men, interpret ye now to me "the meaning and significance of this action and "of this gift." They said unto him, "O king, we "know not the interpretation thereof, thou [p. 18] "thyself knowest it, for there is no knowledge "which can be likened unto thine." He said unto them, "Inasmuch as oil-seed is food it is eaten; "and this oil-seed typifieth the army of the king "of Persia, which we will eat up, even as we eat "the seed. And as for the pearl, it typifies the "king's head, and the god of heaven hath delivered "it into my hand." Then he said to the ambassadors, "Turn ye back to your king, and say unto "him, This[1] is a prophecy from thyself concerning "thyself, and concerning thy kingdom, and concerning thy nobles, and concerning thy house."

Alexander's interpretation of their message.

Now this thing was hard to Philip, the father of Alexander, and he had it in his mind to send his son[2] to Darius, the king of Persia, that he might pass judgment upon him as he desired.

Philip is troubled about Alexander.

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and a box of gold σκῦτον καὶ σφαῖραν καὶ κιβώτιον χρυσίου (Meusel, p. 732).

[1] Read ዘተ፡   [2] Read ወልዶ፡

And there was in the house of Philip a mare[1] which was begotten with Alexander, and it fell out that no one could draw nigh unto her,[2] and no one could mount her, for she was exceedingly strong and powerful, and she was bound by day and by night with seven fetters. Now when Alexander knew what his father wished to do with him in the matter of sending him to Darius, the king of Persia, he went down from his chamber, and girded on his sword, and cut through the fetters[3] which held the mare; then he leaped upon her back, and fled while his father was looking on. And Philip cried out, "My son hath let loose the "mare." And it came to pass that when he had done thus with the mare, his father sent horsemen after him to bring him back to him, for in one hour he had travelled a distance of three hundred stadia; and when the messengers saw the rate at

Bucephalus ridden by Alexander.

[1] The famous horse Bucephalus is, of course, referred to here. According to the Greek text he was so called because he had the head of a bull branded upon his side (ἐλκήθη δὲ βουκέφαλος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ μηρῷ εἶχεν ἐκκαύματος Βοὸς φαίνοντα κεφαλην, Meusel, p. 716), and the Syriac says that he had upon his "right side a birthmark in the form of a wolf, a sign that was born with him, and this wolf held a bull in its mouth" (ed. Budge, p. 18). Colonel Tweedie (*The Arabian Horse*, p. VI, note 3) holds that the name of the horse was not Bucephalus, but Bucephalas, which was the name of a famous breed of Thessaly.

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Book I, Chap. 17 (Müller, p. 16, Meusel, p. 716).

[3] Read ማእሰሪሃ ፡

which he went,[1] they turned back from following him. Then Alexander also turned back and delivered the mare to one of his servants, saying, "Take good care of her,[2] for she belongeth to me, "and she will be with me on my travels." Then his father Philip went down and embraced him, and set him upon the throne, and spake unto him, saying [p. 19], "The kingdom should by right be "thine, O my son, and thou art he of whom the "queen and the wise men spake when they said[3] "that thou shouldst reign over all the earth;" and he delivered to him the key of the palace.

Philip appoints Alexander king.

Capture of Alexandria.

So Alexander took his army and set out for the east. Now the first beginning of [his] kingdom was Alexandria, and he besieged and captured it. And he made prayer to God, the most High, and fixed his belief upon Him, and he acknowledged that there was no other god besides Him, and that He was the Creator of the universe, and the God

The Christian character of Alexander.

[1] Literally, "saw his journeying".

[2] According to Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, § VI.) Bucephalus was offered to Philip by Philonicus the Thessalian for thirteen talents (about £ 3168. 15. 0) but Pliny says (*Hist. Nat.*, VIII, 49) that he cost sixteen talents (about £ 3900. 0. 0). Colonel Tweedie notices the fact that in modern times the "Lion of the East" despatched two military expeditions, and spent about £ 6,000,000 sterling, to obtain possession of the famous horse Laili. See *The Arabian Horse*, p. VI.

[3] The allusion here is to the words of the Pythia in Delphi who, in answer to Philip's question as to who should succeed him, said that he should rule the world who could ride Bucephalus.

of all things, and he committed himself to Him in all his work. And this came to pass by the decree of God Almighty, may He be praised and adored. And He made him king before he came to the east. And Alexander wrote a decree to his kinsfolk, and to his soldiers, and to his army, and he enquired of them concerning his rule, and his authority, and his dominion over them.

Now the first act of Alexander was made manifest by this letter. And this mighty man, the king of Alexandria, took Aristotle the philosopher for his master, and he made him his counsellor, and promised him to hearken unto his counsel, and to be subject unto him in everything. Now Aristotle [his] master was a philosopher, and a man learned in [the affairs of] the world, and he was a man of understanding and honour, and his belief was that of the [Christian] philosophers[1] who say, "The heavens declare the work of the Creator, Who made everything, and Who is the king "of everything, Who killeth, and Who maketh alive, "Who promoteth [man] to honour, and Who bringeth "[him] down into the dust, in Whose hand is "everything, and from Whom are all things."[2] In this wise spake Aristotle, the philosopher, the master of Alexander. And when Alexander saw him, he spake to him and appointed him his coun-

Aristotle, the philosopher, a Christian.

He is made chief counsellor by Alexander.

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[1] Read **ፊሎሶፎቂያን** ::?

[2] Compare Psalm xix. 1; Deuteronomy xxxii. 39; I Samuel ii. 6, 7, 8.

sellor[1] and master, and received[2] his counsel and wisdom; and Aristotle told him what would happen through[3] him, and that he would destroy the world. And God revealed unto him [p. 20] the hidden things of His mysteries which he had revealed to no other man, and Alexander cried out to God Almighty, the Glorious, the most High, in his heart, and entreated him to teach him [His] faith, and fear, and good counsel; and God Almighty hearkened unto him and answered him concerning His faith.

And again Alexander entreated God Almighty to help him against his enemies. Then he went to his friends, and commanded them that they should neither do evil unto any man whatsoever, nor act with violence or with fraud, and said that if they did these things God would lend them His help against their enemies; but if they did not He would not help them. And when Alexander had given these commands Aristotle his master hearkened unto him, and received his words, and there entered into his heart a mighty love [for him], and he followed him whithersoever he wished in righteousness and integrity in the beginning of his kingdom.

The friendship of Aristotle and Alexander.

Alexander's address to his household.

And it came to pass that after his father was dead Alexander ruled over the people of his house, and he stood up among them, and spake unto them, saying, "O men, behold, since your king is dead,

[1] Read መማክርቲሁ ፡ [2] Read ወተወክፈ ፡
[3] Read እምኔሁ ፡

"to me hath fallen both the power to rule[1] over "you and the country, but fear ye God Almighty "Who hath created me, and Who hath created you. "Now ye know that in times past we worshipped "Satan and the other [false] gods, but we knew "not [better], and we followed in their footsteps and "worshipped the god whom our fathers who were "before us worshipped, I, however, decree the fear "of God Almighty, Who is to be praised, therefore "will we abolish the worship of Satan, which bring-"eth men to perdition. Lay hold, then, firmly "upon the fear of God Almighty, and serve Him. "Let each man among you take heed and watch that "he serve God Almighty, and let him shew mercy "unto the poor and needy, for the poor and needy "are held in great honour before God. And I say "[**p. 21**] unto you, moreover, What man will give "himself for your salvation, and will fetter himself "with fighting against your enemy that he may "rule over you? And, further, help ye him, and "be ye all helpers of him nobly for the sake of "truth and righteousness. These are my words "to you, and this is my counsel to you: receive "Him[2] Who hath shewn love for you, and forsake "him that is your enemy."

Then the people of the palace marvelled at his words and at the beauty of his counsel unto them, and they all spake unto him, saying, "We will hear "thy voice, and we will receive thy words, and

They make answer to him.

[1] Read ወምኩናን ፡ [2] Read እምኔሁ ፡

"thy counsel, and we offer thanks unto thee for "that which thou hast commanded[1] us. Behold, "we have seen thee thyself, and we ourselves "wish [it], and we have it in our minds, and we "have hope for ourselves in thee and, moreover, "we would submit ourselves unto thee. And we "all will devote ourselves [to thee] by reason of "our love for our friend, and especially will we help "[him] against our enemy, and we deliver our sub-"mission [unto thee] willingly; do thou then live "and rule over us like a royal father. Behold, we "believe thy words, and we make answer to thee "[with thanks] because thou hast called us to the "fear of God Almighty and to belief in Him. "May God Almighty add some of our days unto "thine, and may He add some of our strength "unto thine, for we have seen that wisdom, and "knowledge, and power, and judgment, and all "royal deeds are thine; and may God lend thee "His aid against thine enemies and grant thee thy "request; and all our thoughts are [fixed] upon thee."

The coronation of Alexander.

Then they and their nobles, and their honourable men all arose and did homage unto him, and they set the crown of royalty upon his head, and they spake unto him, saying, "May God make thy gra-"ciousness to dwell upon the throne; and may He "fulfil [all thy petitions] for thee; and may He "make thee to see joy and gladness in all thy "commandments, and may He lend thee His help

[1] The MS. actually has ዘአዘገዘናከን ፡

"against thine enemies, and may the kings of the "earth submit unto thee; and may He make thee "to reign over all the ends [p. 22] of the world; "and may all kings do homage unto thee; and may "He reveal unto thee the things which are hidden; "and may He make thee to endure so long as it "pleaseth Him so to do."

Then Alexander made answer[1] and spake unto them, saying, "I have understood your words and "the fair beauty of your answers to me, and your "rejoicings on behalf of me who am about to become "ruler over you. Behold ye have spoken gracious "words, and ye have finished[2] your speech, and I "return thanks unto you for these things; and I "entreat God, Who hath appointed me ruler over "you, to give me help, and succour, and might, "and mercy, and His love, and honour among you, "and to make me rule with judgment over you. But "inasmuch as ye have prayed for length of days for "me your minds have become weak, and your tongues "have become feeble in what ye have uttered, for "I am able neither to go beyond that which He "hath decreed for me, nor to exceed the days "which have been appointed for me by my God and "Lord. And, moreover, have trust in God Al-"mighty that He will give me help and that I shall "not submit unto any earthly king. Fear ye not "for the feebleness of my heart, or that I will fail "you; and have knowledge of authority, which

Alexander's coronation speeches.

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[1] Read **ወአውሥአሙ ፡**   [2] Read **ወፈጸምክሙ ፡**

"belongeth unto you, and he that is first among you "shall not be the last. Commit to me your sub-"jection and your excellence, and I will myself freely "give my order thereto and my counsel; and be-"hold I will tell you that which shall befall you. "And now rejoice ye, and have confidence from "the depth of your hearts, and again I will entreat "God Almighty, Who hath set me over you, and "Who hath knitted your hearts unto me, to give "me the gift of attaining unto this,[1] and not to "turn my strength into feebleness; and I tell you "that pain and sorrow shall be added unto me, "and death shall bring me low, before I will ever "become a servant unto others. And when I shall "have ended my reign in my kingdom wherein "I have begun to rule, I shall never have swerv-"ed from your decrees, [p. 23] neither shall your "land have been plundered by others, nor shall "your sons and daughters have been oppressed. "And further will I speak to you if ye will listen "unto what I say unto you. It is not meet that ye "should hold in honour the world, and ye should not "place your trust therein; and love not earnestly "that which is fleeting therein, for it will [soon] "become as if it had never been, and how often doth "it bring into disgrace those who are honoured, and "pay honour unto those who are lightly esteemed. "We all are the children of Adam, and from him we "have been created;[2] he hath made us love [the

[1] Read በዘ ፡ [2] Read ተፈጠርን ፡

"earth], and we were gathered together from it, "and he hath made each of us to inherit it." In this wise spake Alexander unto the men of his house, and to his soldiers and servants.

The second speech.

And again he gathered together the men of his house, and addressed them, and taught them, and spake unto them, saying, "O ye my friends and "beloved, ye men of my house, I will not hide "from you aught of my sins and transgressions, "for ye are the men of my kingdom. And now "I will not hide these things from you, for behold "[I] stand upon honour, the foundation of your fame. "And moreover I entreat God Who hath bestowed "upon me my kingdom, that ye may know from "me that I am not as I was in times past when "I wrought the work of lust, and I am bound and "compelled not to hide this from you. But I have "changed myself from what I was by works and "doctrine, with which things God Almighty bene-"fiteth every man, and He hath exalted my bones "above all desire through the excellence of my flock. "And as for you, O all ye people, let not the "least[1] among you, nor the greatest, despise me, "and take heed to yourselves, and pay honour "unto me before men, but do not make a boast "among men, and say, 'Great is our honour through "the king.'[2] If ye do not know what honour is "due to me and to my rule over you, ye will be-"come my enemies and the enemies [p. 24] of those

Alexander announces his conversion.

[1] Read ንዑስክሙኒ ፡ [2] Read ንጉሥ ፡

"who shall come after me, and ye will suffer disgrace, and put yourselves away from men. And "moreover it is especially meet for you to fear me, "more than [ye fear] other men. For if men see "these things done by you fear and trembling will "come upon them, and they will say, 'Inasmuch as "his servants and the men of his house fear him "and are afraid of him, it is meet for us also to "stand in awe of him, and to honour him'. And "especially among you in my house [is fear due to "me]. Let those who know me and my kinsfolk "not feel wroth with any man because of his possessions, and let them neither steal nor take away "that which belongeth to another through what "he doeth, and do not contract affinity in a way "unseemly to you. If ye do these things which "I command you ye will not fetter yourselves with "chains, and there will not be in you any pretence "whatsoever; keep ye then my commandments and "doctrine, for ye are the men of my house and "my kinsfolk."

Exhortation to obedience.

And in this wise did Alexander, the Two-horned,[1]

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[1] This is the first appearance of Alexander's title "Two-horned" in the Ethiopic version; the words **ዘክልኤ፡ አቅርንቲሆሙ፡** "whose horns are two", translate the Arabic ذو القرنين, and there is no doubt that Alexander and the Two-horned are one and the same person. The most natural explanation of the title is obtained by assuming that one of the attributes of Àmen-Rā has been applied to Alexander, and as the legend makes Àmen-Rā his father this assumption is a fair one. The Egyptian equivalent of Two-horned is

write to his provinces, and to the men of his kingdom:—

"Behold, now, let us acknowledge the Lord my "God, the Creator of me and of you,[1] Whom in "times past I knew not (for devils had blinded my "eyes that I might not see the light) to be God, "our Creator and our God; and if ye know Him "not it is meet that ye should know Him, and "should serve Him, either willingly or unwillingly, "for He hath given you into my hands, and He "hath made me king over you. [He sheweth] "mercy to men and stablisheth cities, and punish-"eth mighty kings who have not acknowledged "God Almighty, and the might of His power. O "fear ye God Almighty, my God and your God, "for it is [p. 25] He Who hath created you, it is "He Who feedeth you, it is He Who keepeth you "alone,[2] it is He Who maketh you to die, it is He "Who maketh you rich, it is He Who maketh you

Alexander's epistle to the officers of his kingdom.

Exhortation to worship God.

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sept ābui: see *Archaeologia*, vol. LII, p. 490. Among the Arabs various opinions as to the meaning of the name exist: some say that Alexander was called "Two-horned" because of his expeditions to the East and the West; and others because he had two curls of hair, like horns, on his forehead. Others again have supposed that the title has nothing to do with Alexander and say that it belongs, by right, to a very ancient king of Yaman. See Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. ii. p. 248; Sale, *Koran*, p. 224; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 169; Abulpharagius, *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 62.

[1] Read ወፈጣሪየ ፡ ወፈጣሪክሙ ፡

[2] Read ዘያሐይወክሙ ፡

"poor, it is He Who helpeth you, it is He Who "shall make you to rise up from your graves, and "it is He Who will reward every man, according "to his work. He is the God of might and power, "and everything is in His hand; we are His ser- "vants and the people whom He hath created in "the palm of His hand. We cannot go before him "that loveth us and we cannot be behind him that "hateth us. O fear ye God Almighty, your God, "and acknowledge Him with all your hearts and "with all your souls, for He is the Maker of the "heavens, and of the earth, and of all that is be- "twixt them, and each of them hath been created "by His marvellous power, yea the very world "[lieth] in the palm of His hand. And it is meet "that we should serve [Him] and do His will, for "it is He Who hath created us, and He killeth us, "and maketh us to live after we are dead; and He "pleadeth our cause for whatsoever offence we "have committed, and it is meet that we should "not serve any God besides Himself, and that we "should worship Him in His Word and in His "mercy, by which everything existeth, His Persons "being three, and His Godhead one. And as for "me I will now break in pieces the idols which ye "were wont to worship instead of God Almighty, "and which ye set up and called by the names of "the stars, and which became the abodes of Satans "who held converse with you from inside them, and "who spake unto you in such a way as to please "you in order that they might destroy you; and these

Idolatry to be abolished.

"things provoked God your Creator[1] to wrath. "And now if these idols are able to deliver you, "let them deliver themselves now that we are about "to break them in pieces, and to destroy them, "and to give them over to ruin; for behold, God "hath given me power to dash them in pieces and "to destroy them. Understand ye, then, for what "purpose I am sent unto you, therefore submit "yourselves unto my decrees. By the decree of God "Almighty, Who is to be praised, and Who is the "Creator of myself and of you, [p. 26] let there be "shewn to me none of the hypocrisy which is shewn "to others, for He is my helper, and my strength, "and my refuge. And behold, God Almighty hath "filled me with understanding, and He hath put "strength in my heart, and victory in all my doings. "And He hath revealed unto me the hidden things "of His mysteries which He hath not revealed unto "others, and He hath made all the mighty ones "of the earth to bow down humbly beneath the "sole of my foot, and He hath made [me] to know "what is in the deepest depths of the sea, so that He "might make me king over the whole world by "His power, and that I might rule over [all] the "peoples of the world and make them to be [my] "servants. He hath made the mighty one to be "of no account, and He hath exalted him of low "degree. And through the knowledge of my God "I will gather together, and I will destroy those

God's gifts to Alexander.

Idolaters to be rooted out.

[1] Read በፈጣሪክሙ ፡ [2] Read ለበዐዳን ፡

"who would serve idols instead of God, Who is to "be praised, so that the Devil, who hath counselled "men to do the evil acts which they did for him in "their old state, may not destroy me[1] by any of "his counsels, and so that God may preserve me "from his wiles, and crafts, and snares. So likewise, "then, do ye hearken unto my words and receive "my doctrine, that mine anger may not have "dominion over you, and that mercy may not be "remote from my heart, and that ye may not be "blotted out by the punishment which I may mete "out. But, O men, put ye your trust in the know-"ledge of God Almighty, and in His good pro-"tection, and worship ye, O men, no other god "besides the Lord our God. Forsake ye him whom "in times past ye and your fathers trusted, and "your mighty ones,[2] and your demons, who gave "you counsel, for your mighty One is mightier "than he. And now receive ye my commandments, "and I will entreat God to have mercy, both upon "myself and upon you, according to His desire and "good pleasure; in Him is my help, and in Him "is my trust."

Then Alexander wrote a letter to his army,[3] saying:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful and Gracious. "From the servant of [p. 27] God Almighty, Alex-

[1] Read ኢታማስን ፡

[2] Read ወኃያላክክሙ ፡

[3] Read ሠራዊቱ ፡

"ander, who is surnamed the 'Two-horned', to his "army, and to his governors, and to his nobles, "[greeting]. Behold, I speak unto you all in the "name of the great and glorious God, and it is "He Who hath removed from you darkness and "wickedness, and He hath made me king over you, "and He Who made blind the kings who reigned "before me hath made me to see clearly. For you "and your kings wandered about in vanity, but "now hath the glorious God removed darkness "from your eyes, and He hath brought near your "hearts to Him that ye may hasten [to obey] His "commandments, and may see and understand, "and know the manner of life in which ye lived. "And behold, the great, and mighty, and glorious "God hath granted me my request, and He hath "turned my heart to the knowledge of Him, and "He hath made you to submit unto His command-"ments, and He hath given you power over the Devil "and over his hosts, and strength to do battle with "him, and to fight against him. He hath made you "to know his deceit and his wiles by means of which "he hoped to be able to destroy you; but now ye "are conquerors and righteous men through the "knowledge of God your Lord. It is He Who "killeth you and Who maketh you to live, and of "the heavens, and of the earth, and of all that "therein is, He is the Creator. Besides Him ye "shall have no other God. Moreover, know ye this, "and lay it up in your hearts:—Aristotle, the philo-"sopher, who is my teacher, and friend, and in-

Alexander's epistle to the army.

The power of God.

"structor, and companion[1] hath told me out of the "hidden things of the treasury of his knowledge, "that the glorious God hath sent [to rule] over all

The Macedonian to be victorious.

"the kings [of the earth] a man of Macedonia who "shall in the whole course of his life never be "vanquished, and whom none of the kings of the "earth shall ever conquer.[2] And I trust in my God, "Who hath created me, and Who hath made me "to understand the majesty [p. 28] of His power, "that I shall be that man, for the glorious God "hath set knowledge in my heart, and He hath "graciously endowed me with honour, and He "hath made me to be a sign among His servants, "that I shall be as one of the mighty ones of the "earth who reigned before me. Moreover, the "Lord my God hath set it in my heart to bring "down to the dust the mighty, and to punish the "hypocrites, and I know that the glorious God hath

Alexander's mission from God.

"given to me this preeminence so that He may "perform for me that which I desire in this world, "and that He may make to be subject unto me "those who were subject unto the kings who were

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[1] "In his younger years Alexander admired Aristotle greatly, and he himself said that he loved him as much as he loved his father, for from the one he derived the blessing of life, and from the other the blessing of a good life. In later years his affection seems to have cooled." Plutarch, *Alexander* viii.

[2] The writer probably had in his mind Aristotle's greeting to Alexander χαίροις Ἀλέξανδρε κοσμοκράτωρ, σὺ γὰρ μγέσιτος βασιλεὺς ἔσῃ (Meusel, p. 717).

"before me. Now the minds of those kings were[1] "set upon the lust of the world, and not upon any "other thing, and their thoughts, and deliberations,[2] "and minds were upon vanity; pleasure swift and "fleeting was the end [they sought].[3] And there were "some who remained motionless, and some who were "idle, and some who did evil in their kingdoms. "But as for me, the glorious God hath not made "me like unto them, and He hath not made me to "love any of the things after which they lusted. "And I know what honour is [due] unto the glorious "God, even as He hath promoted me to honour "above all the kings who live in my time, for the "thought of God is in[4] my heart, and my confi- "dence is [placed] upon Him, and with these I will "walk through the whole world. He is my strength, "for by His power He hath made me to rule, and I "know that He will guard me in all my labours "until I have done all that He hath commanded "me. And I will tell you concerning the glory "of God, which He hath graciously bestowed upon "me and upon you, and I will make known His "holy Name from the rising up of the sun even "unto the going down of the same. In times past "we were fools and workers of iniquity, but now "we are His servants and our hearts are [p. 29] in "His hand; whomsoever He loveth He keepeth "alive, and whomsoever He hateth He destroyeth.

Alexander relies upon God.

[1] Read ኮኑ ፡ [2] Read ወምክሮሙ ፡
[3] Read ደኃሪቶሙ ፡ [4] Read ውስተ ፡

"And behold He will place all kings in subjection "in our hands until they turn to the knowledge of "the glorious God Who hath created them, and "until they become one kingdom; for it is better "for them to be united together than to be separated "and scattered. Now, by the help of the glorious "God, I desire [to make] war, and I will make "supplication unto Him with all my power."

Alexander's prayer to God.

And thus saying Alexander stood up, and setting his face towards the east, he prayed, saying, "O "my God, and my Lord, it is Thou Who hast given "unto me this [kingdom], and Thou hast set wisdom "in my heart, and Thou hast taught me that which "I had never learned. There is no power and "might save [in] Thee, O God, and there is nothing "which I can offer unto Thee wherewith I could "please Thee. Now my fathers pleased Thee not, "but we are all pilgrims towards the riches of thy "grace; do Thou receive the penitence which Thou "lovest to receive from thy servants. As for me "Thy servant, I am poor and needy, I have no "strength save in Thee, and I am not able to de- "liver myself from Thy chastening. Thou, O God, "knowest that which is in my heart and mind, but "I know not what is in Thy heart and in Thy mind. "And if it should happen, O God, that I please "thee in this my way, deal Thou graciously with "me, and with my army, and with every one[1] "who pleaseth me, for this belongeth to Thy mercy

[1] Read ወለኩሉ ፡

"and to Thy lovingkindness. Help Thou me, and "lead Thou me in the right way by Thy might and "power, for there is no help save [in] Thee, and "there is no place of refuge save with Thee."

Then Alexander wrote a letter to all kings, which read thus:—

"From the servant of God Almighty, Alexander, "who is surnamed 'Two-horned', the king of the "kings of the earth from the rising up of the sun "even unto the going down of the same, [p. 30] "God Almighty, glory be to His power and holy "be His Names! hath made me king over all the "world, and He hath set the thought of Himself "to be a spear within my soul, and He hath placed "wisdom in my heart, and He hath made me to "know His kingdom and His power; sickness and "health are in His hand, and we are His creatures "and His servants. No man can comprehend His "work. He hath marked out the heavens by His "decree, and by His knowledge He hath created "the earth, and all that therein is according to "His wish, and His work is good, and all rivers "and seas are in the palm of His hand. He hath "made firm the world, and hath ordered it beauti-"fully, and He hath placed therein signs and won-"ders by the statutes of His knowledge which "existed aforetime. And ye know that the Dia-"bolos, who was formerly His servant,[1] hath set

Alexander's epistle to kings and governors.

He shews the power of God.

[1] When God had finished the creation of the world, He peopled it with genii before He put Adam into it: He created them of pure fire and among them was Iblis (Diabolos or

"enmity between Him and you and your fathers "through his pretensions, and he overcame you

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the Devil). God forbade them to shed the blood of beasts and to revolt, but they did shed blood and waged wars among themselves. When Iblis saw these things he prayed that God would take him up to heaven, and when He had done so, he united his earnest praises unto those of the angels. Then God sent down to earth a company of angels who drove some of the genii into the isles of the sea, and others they slew. Now Iblis, who had been appointed by God to be the guardian of that part of the sky which was near the earth, allowed his heart to become puffed up by pride, and when God, Who, having formed the body of Adam out of red and white clay, wished to animate it with the breath of life, ordered the angels to bow down before Adam, they all obeyed with the exception of Iblis, who said, "Lord, I am better than he, for me Thou didst create out of fire, and him Thou hast made of clay, and fire is more noble than clay. Thou hast made me Thy vicar upon earth, I have wings and a halo of light, and my head is crowned with glory: it is I who have worshipped Thee in heaven und upon earth." God said unto him, "Depart from this place, for thou shalt be stoned, رجيم, and may My curse rest upon thee until the day of judgment." Then Iblis demanded a respite until the day of the resurrection, and God granted it unto him until the day of the determined time يوم الوقت المعلوم. It was thus that the name Iblis obtained the sense of *Diabolos* which has been given to it. And Iblis said to God, "By Thy power do I swear, that I will surely seduce them," and God said, "I will surely fill hell with thee, and with such as follow thee." See Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. I. pp. 50—54; and *Ḳurʿân*, XXXVIII. 77 ff. According to another tradition, the Devil, being refused entrance into Paradise by the guards, begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to Adam and his wife; but they all

"by his error until ye committed sin against "God; and he led you astray by his counsels and "darkened your hearts by his lust, and he led into "error your fathers, and they were destroyed by "the subjection in which ye are, and the first "generation perished[1] by his hands. Now God "Almighty, Whose honour is great, hath given me "glory, and He hath bestowed upon me the gift "of His grace, and He hath placed wisdom in my "heart, and He hath given me victory over all "these things. And I know Him, for I know Him "and I magnify Him, and He is exalted above the "heavens. The things which we were wont to "worship instead of Him were of the work of the "Devil in [his] hatred of man, in whose hand "there is neither advantage nor power, for he can-"not redeem us by what is good, neither can he "ward off from us what is evil; but we know that "God Almighty is not thus. It was Satan who led "the nations into error, and he made it pleasant "for those [who trusted] on him to provoke the "glorious God to wrath, and he took away from "them their understanding. And now I call upon "you to come to the [p. 31] glorious and most High "God, and to perform His will and pleasure, and "to turn from your evil [ways] to the knowledge "of Him, which alone can give you benefit. Be-"hold now, my letter hath come to you by the

Satan first led astray the human race.

refused except the serpent who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him. Maracci, *Alcoran*, p. 24.

[1] Read ተኃጒለ ፡

"hand of my ambassador, and it is a witness "against you; may the help which is with God be "with you. Now if ye hearken unto it and be- "come converted from your error, [good and well]; "but if ye will not, then I will pour out your blood "[like water], I will lay waste your countries, I will "carry off your women into captivity, and I will "make your children and your offspring to be "slaves, and my soldiers shall divide their posses- "sions among them, and shame and disgrace shall "be upon you. But I call upon you to do good "unto your own souls, and unto the souls of [those "of] your blood, that your kings may not be scat- "tered, and that none of you[1] may perish. I would "that ye would submit yourselves to me. for I desire "neither that punishment should come upon you in "your days, nor that ye should feed yourselves "with the food of affliction. Moreover, I have "confidence in God Almighty, the glorious, that "ye will turn, and that He will turn you unto "Himself with all your souls, and that ye will wor- "ship[2] no other God besides Him, and that ye will "put away from yourselves error, and blindness, "and folly; for God Almighty is exalted and glorious, "and He it is Who is to be praised. This is my "commandment to you, and these are my words "to you: God Almighty giveth mercy unto those "who submit themselves unto Him, and affliction "and punishment unto those who act wickedly.

He exhorts kings to do good and to worship God.

[1] Read እምኔክሙ ፡ [2] Read ኢታምልኩ ፡

"I seek that which is good and pleasant for your "souls, and God Almighty is witness between me "and you; may He make to prosper this [my under-"taking]." And Alexander sent [this] letter to all the kings by his messengers.

Alexander's letter to Darius. And it came to pass that when the ambassadors[1] had come to Darius, the king of Persia, and he had Alexander's letter read before his whole army, he sent a letter[2] to his whole [p. 32] army and to all his generals concerning the message which the Two-horned king had sent to him, saying:—

Darius writes to Tiberius Caesar. "From Darius, the king of kings to the subjects "of Tiberius Caesar, the Greek.[3] Behold there hath "reached us a rumour of this thief, and robber, "and deformed man Alexander, and also that "there have gone forth with him a number of "robbers. Capture him, then, together with his "band; seize him alive, but send away his men to "the sea. Send, then, to me this dog bound and "chained. I know that ye are men of war and of "the spear, and that ye are skilled in the know-

[1] Literally, "And when they had come to Darius;" we must probably understand the words as referring to the ambassadors whom Alexander sent back with the message containing Alexander's interpretation of the golden box filled with oil-seeds and the pearl (see above p. 35).

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 39 (Müller, p. 43, Meusel, p. 734).

[3] The translator has misunderstood his text here: the Greek has Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τοῖς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ταύρου στρατηγοῖς χαίρειν.

"ledge of war,[1] and ye have neither authority nor "excuse, so far as I am concerned, to make a league "with a vile Greek. Let him not remain in your "country, but do not imagine within yourselves that "he can by any means come against us."[2]

And[3] it came to pass after these things that Darius the king heard that Alexander the Two-horned had marched on and had arrived with his army at the river Ḳôprĕs,[4] which was a mighty stream. Then Darius, the king of Persia, wrote to him a letter saying:—

Darius writes to Alexander.

"From Darius, the king of the earth, to Alexan-"der, the king of the Greeks, the son of Philip,[5]

[1] Read እጸበእ ፡

[2] According to the Greek Darius ordered the satraps on this side of the Taurus to make captive Alexander and to send him to him unharmed, as he intended to dress him in purple, and to beat him, and to send him back to his mother Olympias in Macedonia provided with the toys (δοὺς αὐτῷ κροτάλην καὶ ἀστραγάλους) with which Macedonian children play, and accompanied by men to teach him when there. Alexander's ships were to be sunk, his generals sent in chains to Darius, and his soldiers to be banished to the Red Sea; the horses and baggage animals Darius' friends were to keep for themselves. The satraps' reply consisted chiefly of a statement of their surprise that Darius should have remained ignorant of the approach of such a mighty army, and of an appeal to him for assistance to be sent promptly.

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 40 (Müller, p. 44, Meusel, p. 735).

[4] The Greek has πρὸς τῷ Πινάρῳ ποταμῷ.

[5] Read ፊልጶስ ፡

"the Two-horned, my servant. Now behold, the "news of the death of thy father hath reached me, "and it hath come to me that thou thyself hast "become king over the men of Macedonia without "my knowing[1] anything of the event, and thou "hast set out on an expedition in thy mad scheme, "which to do was not seemly unto thee. Now thy "father was subject unto our authority, and he "acted according to our good will and pleasure, "and we journeyed to his country, and we rejoiced "over him. But, behold, thou hast treated us with "contempt by reason of what thou hast done, and "thou hast not shewn honour unto us; for thou "hast forsaken the use and wont of thy father, "of which thing we have only become aware "through others, and, moreover, thou hast made "thyself king without our wish and without our "order. And, moreover, thou hast dared to pass "over into the boundaries [p. 33] of countries "wherein thou hadst no right to enter, in order "that [thy soldiers] might invade us, and besides "this, thou thyself hast [dared] to set the crown "of royalty upon thy head. But thou art only a "proud and headstrong boy without understanding, "and so if thou wilt return I will put away thy "transgression, and will not take vengeance upon "thee for thy folly. And, besides this, I know well "the folly of the Greeks, and how little is their "skill in the use of the spear. Now ye are Greeks,

[1] Read ኢያእምሮኩ ፡

"and would ye know by experience our spears and "our strength? But we know our superiority over "you by your excellent custom of paying service and "tribute [to us]. I write to you for your own good, "and because I would spare your country."[1]

The Persian ambassadors come to Alexander.

Then[2] Darius sent this letter to Alexander, the Two-horned, by his messengers. And when his letter reached Alexander he gave orders for them to strip off the clothes of the envoys of Darius and to slay them, but they made supplication unto him saying, "May God make thee to "delay, for kings are not wont to act thus with

[1] According to Pseudo-Callisthenes (Bk. I. chap. 36) the letter which Darius sent to Alexander at this time was quite different from what we have here, and it was brought to him as he was marching through Syria together with a whip, a ball, and a small box of gold. In it Darius calls himself the kinsman of the gods (θεῶν συγγενὴς), who riseth with the sun, and who is himself a god. He orders Alexander to go back to his parents, who are vassals of Persia, and to go to sleep in his mother's lap. As he is still a child Darius sends him a whip, and a ball, and a casket of gold; the whip is to shew him that he is still in need of training, the ball is for him to play with instead of going about like the captain of a band of thieves, and the gold he can give to his robber friends to pay their way back into Macedonia when Alexander has no more to give them. Darius has more soldiers than there are grains of sand in the sea, and he has sufficient gold and silver to cover the earth; if Alexander does not at once return to his country Darius will send men after him and he will be crucified.

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 37 (Müller, p. 40, Meusel, p. 732).

"ambassadors." Alexander said unto them, "Blame[1] "ye your own king who sent you unto me, [and "not me,] for he who sent this letter unto me did "not send as unto a king, neither did he send it "as kings are wont to send their letters unto their "friends, nor as one governor sendeth a letter to "another governor; but Darius is a man of folly, "and he knoweth not the power of God Almighty. "I, however, would[2] act towards you in the manner "in which thieves act, for by the name of thief "hath your king called me." The ambassadors said unto him, "O Master, it is because Darius knew "thee not, and because he knew not thy great name "that he hath, in his folly and headstrong pride, "written this letter to thee; but as for us[3] we have "looked upon thee, and we have seen thy power, "and sovereignty, and ability[4] to conquer, and we "see that thy strength also is from God Almighty, "and that thy honour is great, and that thy know-"ledge is greater than that of other kings. Deal "graciously, then, [p. 34] with us, even as God "Almighty hath dealt graciously with thee, and "restore unto us our rank and our apparel, in order "that we may tell Darius of the things which we "have seen concerning thee, and of thy might, and "we ourselves shall be for thee witnesses of thy

Speech of the ambassadors.

[1] ኢትሕምይዎ ፡ must be corrupt; we might read ኢትሕምይኒ ፡ አላ ፡ ትሕምይዎ ፡ The Gr. has μέμψασθε τὸν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, καὶ μὴ ἐμέ (Meusel, p. 733).

[2] Read እግበር ፡ [3] Read ወበሕቱኒ ፡

[4] Read ወመዊአተከ ፡

"power before him." Alexander said unto them, "I do not shew compassion unto you because ye "have made supplication and entreaty unto me so "to do, nor because I will not do such a thing [as "to slay ambassadors] in the beginning of my reign, "but only because I wish to shew you how superior "is the honour of Greece to that of Persia. It is "not seemly for kings and governors to slay[1] am-"bassadors, for they are only servants of their "masters, and they may not alter that which they "have told them."

Alexander's reply.

Then the Two-horned commanded them to open their fetters, and to give them their horses and their apparel,[2] and he caused food to be brought, and he ate with them, and straightway they said unto him, "Master, if thou wishest we will reveal "to thee the preparations, and plans, and orders "of Darius." Now when the king heard their words, he would have liked to hold converse with them, but he did not wish to receive any [advice] whatsoever [from them]; and he accepted not their counsel, but he spake unto them, saying, "Be silent, "for I will not receive any of the advice with "which ye counsel me, for ye wish to return to "your king. Had it been that ye were going to "remain with me, then I would have listened unto "you and I would have accepted your counsel. "Moreover, perchance one of you whom I know

The ambassadors offer to betray their master.

[1] The word እትልዎሙ፡ seems to be corrupt. The Greek is βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἄγγελον οὐ κτείνει (Meusel, p. 733).

[2] Read ወእልበሲሆሙ፡

"not may tell Darius the king that which ye have "spoken unto me, and [I would not] either that ye "should treat your king unjustly, or that ye should "deal fraudulently with me in your hearts; ye "wish to give me information concerning him, for "the sake of the lives which ye have asked at my "hands. And now I do not wish for your information because my strength is in the glorious "God."

Alexander declines their offer.

Now when the ambassadors heard Alexander's words they marvelled, and said unto him, "O king "and lord, to the like of thee [p. 35] no woman "[save thy mother] hath ever given birth." And it came to pass that because the ambassadors of Darius tarried, he thought that the Two-horned had slain them, and he sent other ambassadors bearing a sealed letter saying thus:—

"Behold, it hath reached me that thou, the Two-"horned, hast assumed the sovereignty over Greece "without my order, and that thou art marching "through our country[1] and that thou doest that "which we have commanded thee not to do therein.

Darius sends other ambassadors.

"But now return from thy work of transgression "speedily and delay not, or I will march out against "thee with the Persians, and I will trample upon "thy land, and I will slay thy people, and I will "drive thee out from thy possessions, and no-"thing whatsoever shall be left unto thee, and I "will make another king in thy stead. Now, be-

Threats of Darius.

[1] Read በምድርን ፡

"hold, I have sent to thee by my ambassadors "[oil-seed][1] and if thou art able to count them [thou "wilt know how few] are the soldiers of thine army "[in comparison with] my men. Peace [be] upon "thee." And Darius sent with the ambassadors a measure[2] of oil-seed and a ball.[3]

He sends sesame seed.

And it came to pass that when the ambassadors had come to Alexander and had delivered to him the letter and the oil-seed, he took his friends and read to them the letter of Darius, the king of Persia. And he said to them, "Hear ye what "Darius saith concerning me and concerning you. "If ye rise up and attack him in a body ye will "defeat your enemy, but if ye are slothful he will "conquer you;" and they all answered him [saying, 'We will conquer him']. Then Alexander answered them, saying, "I will speak unto you, for behold "my heart is strong to overcome Darius, therefore "help me to succeed in this undertaking. And I "compare the army of Darius unto [this] oil-seed, "for it is something which can be eaten, and is, there- "fore, to be eaten up. And I have confidence in "the glorious God, Who created us, that the king- "dom of Darius shall come into our hands, if God, "[p. 36] the most High, pleaseth." And they said, "O king, may God ordain [things] in this wise for "thee and for us."

Alexander's address to his friends.

He determines to fight Darius.

Then Alexander answered and said, "I will send

[1] Some words like ፍሬ ፡ ሰሊጥ ፡ have dropped out of the text.

[2] Read ፩ፀዓን ፡ [3] Read ወ፩ኩእሶ ፡

"an answer to the first and to the second letter of Darius;" and he wrote the first letter, saying:—

Alexander's answer to Darius' first letter.

"From the servant of God Almighty, Alexander, "the Two-horned, the son of Philip, the king of the "Greeks, to Darius, the king of Persia. Behold I "have understood the letter which thou hast sent "to me, in which thou boastest of thy majesty and "thy greatness, and there hath come from thee what "hath come, but thou wilt speedily fall therefrom, if "God the most High willeth.

He rebukes Darius for his arrogance.

Now thou hast in thy "letter boasted of thy power, and hast dared to ar-"rogate to thyself, and to call thyself[1] by the name "'King of Kings', but the 'King of Kings' is the glorious "God, Who is the sustainer of the universe. And "moreover, thou hast shewed enmity towards me, "and thou hast lightly esteemed me, but I, thy "servant, am one of the servants of the great God "Who is to be worshipped and those words cannot "be denied, and thou also shouldst worship Him "even as I do.

Alexander's piety.

Now every letter which I write, "whether it be to kings or to other people, be-"ginneth with the words, 'From the servant of God "Almighty, Alexander.' I am His servant, in Him "is my help, and on Him is my trust [placed], and "I entreat Him to help me [in my war] against "thee, for I have hope of this from my God. Thou "hast in thy assumption of divine attributes gathered "multitudes together in thy pride, and they say,[2]

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[1] The ፍ of ነፍስከ ፡ is written in red ink over an erasure.

[2] ወይብሉ ፡ altered into ወይቤሉ ፡ in the MS.

"How can God bring Darius the great king down "to the dust, and how can a little Greek slave[1] "slay him? But know, O Darius, that even if thou "slayest me thou wilt gain no credit thereby, and "thou wilt not be able to boast thereof, for thou "wilt only have slain a thief, even as thou didst "call me. And as for thy gift, behold I have accepted it, and I know that its signification is, if "God willeth, that I shall have [His] [p. 37] help "to fight against thee. And as concerning the oil-"seeds[2] which thou hast sent unto me, behold, I

The meaning of the sesame seeds.

"have tasted them, and I find them to be insipid, "and the interpretation of them is that thy soldiers "and troops are a countless multitude; but they "are not able to stand against spears. And thou "hast gathered them together in thy folly thinking "that thou wilt break my head, but I have hope "and trust that God will gather together all men in "submission unto me and all the countries of the

The meaning of the ball.

"nations. And as for the ball,[3] inasmuch as it is "round it signifieth the earth; and I believe and "trust in God my Lord, Whom I serve, that He "will set my memorial and my power in all the "earth. This I do not hope for through my own "strength and might, but through the might of the "glorious God Whom I serve. And behold I send "to thee[4] a gift in return for thy gift, that is to

[1] Read ገብር ። [2] Read ፍሬ ፡ ሰሊጥ ።
[3] Gr. τῇ δὲ σφαίρᾳ (Meusel, p. 734).
[4] Read ለከ ።

"say, a few mustard[1] seeds; they are few in number, but their taste is very pungent.[2] Even so "though my soldiers are few in number their "strength is great, through the will of the glorious "God. Peace be upon thee."

Alexander sends Darius mustard seed.

And here followeth the second answer[3] which Alexander sent to Darius:—

Alexander's answer to Darius' second letter.

"In the name of God, the Merciful and Gracious. "From the servant of God, Alexander, the king "of the Greeks, to Darius the Great. Behold I "have understood thy letter, and that which thou "hast written therein concerning the transgression "of thy laws [by us] and what thou hast promised "[to do] unto us. As regards what thou sayest "['Return'], I will not return, and if thou comest "forth against me with thy army[4] of Persians and "dost set it in array against me, I am ready to "meet it. Now, behold, thou hast led thyself "astray, and thou wilt not advance to my army, "for thy mind will not let thee do this. More- "over, behold, I will come against thee with the "men of Greece, and I will shew thee what we "can do when we join in battle together. And I "have sent unto thee [p. 38] [some mustard seed][5] "by the signification of which thou wilt understand "concerning my men and thy men. Peace be "upon thee."

He refuses to withdraw his army.

[1] ሰናፔ ፡=σίναπι. [2] Read መሪር ፡

[3] Read እውሥኣት ፡ [4] Read በሰብአ ፡

[5] Some words like ፍሬ ፡ ሰናፔ ፡ have dropped out of the text.

And it came to pass, that when the ambassadors had arrived with Alexander's answers to the first and to the second letter, and they had come[1] into the presence of Darius with the answers to his letters, he rejoiced to find them still alive, because he thought that they had been slain by Alexander[2]. And when he had finished [reading] the answers, which the ambassadors had brought, they fell down before him on the ground,—now they had seen Alexander's power, and his knowledge, and his speech and had marvelled thereat, and they told this unto Darius. Then Darius assembled his friends and had Alexander's letters read unto them, and an ambassador told him, that Alexander had eaten some of the oil-seeds, which he had sent to him. And Darius was exceedingly angry, and he commanded the ambassador to eat some of the mustard seeds, which Alexander had sent unto[3] him, but he was not able to do so, and he knew not the signification thereof. Then Darius took a handful of seeds and put them in his mouth, but he was unable to swallow them, and he spat them out, while the tears poured from his eyes, saying, "It is quite true that they are few in number[4], but "their strength is great".

Darius reads Alexander's letter.

He eats some of the mustard seeds.

His interpretation of them.

Darius writes to his satraps.

Then Darius wrote unto all the satraps of his provinces[5] and ordered them to make ready

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1 Read ወሰበ፡ ቦኡ፡ 2 Read እልእስክንድርስ፡ ወከነ፡
3 ኀቤሁ፡ 4 Read በኍልቆሙ፡
5 Read መኳንንት፡ በሐውርቲሁ፡

and to gather together[1] [their forces] to meet Alexander's attack, and he told them of his knowledge and wisdom. Meanwhile Alexander gave orders to all his generals and his friends, and spake unto them, saying, "O men, everything shall be "perfected according to the petition of him who "hath good counsel and strength, and who hath "laboured in the purification of his mind; whosoever "among you is capable of these things God shall help "him against his enemy, and whosoever cannot do this "let him depart from us". And they made answer unto him, saying, "All these qualities hath God "gathered together in the king and in Himself. "We are his servants, and there shall not be left "any man among us [p. 39] who shall not go "forth to meet Darius in battle through love for "the king, and to do his good pleasure". Then the Two-horned rejoiced greatly at their answer, and he prayed to God on their behalf.

Alexander addresses his soldiers.

Their reply.

So Alexander marched on and directed his way to the land of Egypt, and he saw on the sea coast a port for his ships opposite the coast, and he commanded them to build a city there after his name: and a city was built there, which is Alexandria[3]. And the countries of Egypt and Nubia and Ethiopia were opened to him without fighting;

Alexander goes to Egypt.

[1] Read ወይትጋብኡ ፡

[2] In the MS. ሠናይቱ ፡ altered into ሠናይት ፡

[3] For fabulous accounts of the building of Alexandria see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 31 ff. and Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard) tom. ii. p. 420 ff.

and many of the inhabitants of the countries of Tenkîyâ, and Africa, and of the regions of the west brought out to him [gifts]. And he opened up Asia and Syria, towards the east, while he was encamped in Egypt, for he had distributed his soldiers in the eastern and western parts of the country. Then the troops, who were with him, mounted horses, and mules, and camels, and Alexander went out with them to Palestine.

He sends troops into Syria.

Then Alexander wrote a letter to the elders of the Jews, who were in Jerusalem[1] [and ordered] them to submit to his rule, and they would not accept him, but said, "We are under the rule of "Darius, the king of Persia, and we cannot come "under thy dominion". Then Alexander said to his friends, "Behold, I will seek help from God "against these Jews, for they and their kings have "been accursed from the beginning; if God were "to give them the power, they would not let a "man move about on the earth. But I will carry "them away and will put them under the dominion "of my majesty after the manner[2] of slaves". And Alexander was angry at their answer to him.

He writes to the Jews in Jerusalem.

And it came to pass, when Alexander drew nigh unto Jerusalem, together with his armies and soldiers [p. 40], that the earth and the mountains trembled and shook at his coming, and at the

He comes to Jerusalem.

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[1] ቤተ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ = بيت المقدس; see MacGuckin de Slane, *Aboulféda*, p. ٢٢٧.

[2] Read አምሳለ ፡

multitudes of his armies, and the country was afflicted thereat, and the Jews trembled with fear. Then the high-priest who was under [the rule of] Darius and was subject into him—now he had been high-priest there before Darius became king, went out, and all the Jews with him, and they took with them the roll of the Law, and they began [to read] the prophecy of Daniel the prophet, which [they had] spread out upon the top of a spear, and they received Alexander in this respectful manner. Then Alexander looked at them and at the Book of the Law, which was spread out, and he said unto them, "What is this which I see "with you?" And they answered him, saying, "It is the Book of God Almighty, which hath come "down by the prophets, and [it contains] the pro- "phecy of Daniel the prophet who prophesied "concerning thy kingdom[1]". And it came to pass that when Alexander heard[2] this he wept and trembled before God, and he came down from his horse to the ground and went on foot until he drew nigh to the Book of the Law and the Prophets, and he straightway turned towards the east, and did homage unto God Almighty, the most High, even to the ground, and unto His Holy Scriptures, and to the words of the prophets. Then [all the soldiers] marched before Alexander, having taken off their armour, until he came into the Sanctuary, and he made supplication to God [there],

The high-priest goes out to meet him.

He reads the prophecy of Daniel concerning Alexander.

Alexander's respect for the Book of the Law.

He enters the Sanctuary at sunrise.

[1] See Daniel, chap. VIII. [2] Read ሰምዓ ፡

that He would prosper his way. And when he had finished his prayer, he [went and] sat down outside the Sanctuary and the chiefs and generals of his army stood by his side while he was marvelling at the beauty of the Sanctuary; now it was about the time of sunrise. And his friends drew nigh and said unto him, "O victorious king, live "for ever! What dost thou desire to do unto these "men? For they have been wicked and hypo- "critical to every king and they have never been "in subjection. When they saw thine honour and "the majesty of thy royal state and the [p. 41] "might of thy army [they were afraid]; behold, thou "thyself didst hear the answer, which they sent "back to thy letter, and how they treated thine "authority with contempt[2]. And lo, now that thou "hast come to these evil-doers, thou payest honour "to them, and dost descend from thy horse to the "ground, and dost go on foot with them to pray "in their sanctuary. These men are few in number, "and they are shedders[3] of blood and slayers of

[1] In the MS. ወቀትሊያን፡ altered into ወቀታሊያን፡

[2] According to Josephus (*Antiquities* XI. 8. 3) when Alexander had captured Sidon and was besieging Tyre, he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, ordering him to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions, and to send to him the presents which he had formerly sent to Darius. But the high priest answered the messengers that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him, and that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living. The high priest at the time was called Jaddua.

[3] Read ከዓውያኒ፡ ደም፡

"the prophets". Then Alexander answered and said unto them, "Know ye that I have not paid "honour unto these dogs, but unto the God of the "worlds, Whose Name is upon them[1]. But I have "worshipped God in His own Sanctuary, and I "have done honour unto His prophets and saints "[therein], and I have made thanksgiving unto Him, "Who hath me worthy [to enter into] His holy "House[2], which heareth His Name".

His homage to God.

And the high priest of the Jews took the Book of Daniel the prophet and gave it to Alexander, who read it[3] and spake unto them, saying, "If it "be that Daniel did prophesy concerning me and "my kingdom, why did ye behave with insolence

The Jews explain their position.

[1] "When Alexander saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of GOD was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did all together, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came to pass that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews? To whom he replied, 'I did not adore him, but that God Who hath honoured him with his high priesthood . . . . and I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct'." Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI. 8. 5.

[2] Read **ቤተ ፡ ቅድስተ ፡**

[3] The passages referred to here are probably Daniel vii, 6; and chap. viii.

"to me?" The high priest[1] of the Jews said unto him, "O most honourable king, we did not imagine that thou wouldst come unto us, and we did "not think that thou wouldst receive [our words] "in their plain meaning, and moreover, [had we "accepted thee] it would have been made a pretext "against us by Darius, the king of Persia." Alexander said[2] unto them, "Accursed ye have ever been, "but I will let you abide for this time. Ye are like "the setting of a precious stone, for when the "precious stone hath been taken away therefrom, "the setting is cast away on the earth. And I swear "by my mighty God, the God of the heavens and "of the earth, that I only paid honour unto you for "the sake of the Name of God, the most High, "and it is a blessed thing [for you] that ye came "out to me therewith." The high priest[3] of the Jews said to him, "Forgive us, and be merciful "with us, for God Almighty hath given thee royal "power that thou mayest deal graciously with the "world and with that which is therein." And the king [p. 42] said to him, "I have forgiven[4] thee "and thy people, and I place thee above our own "people and above all the nations who have come "into subjection unto us."[5]

The sacred Name honoured by Alexander.

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[1] Read ሊቀ ፡ [2] Read ወይቤሎሙ ፡
[3] Read ሊቀ ፡ [4] Read ሰረይኩ ፡

[5] The incidents of Alexander's visit to Memphis, where he acknowledged that Nectanebus was his father, are omitted by the Ethiopian translator, and no mention is made of the

So the king went forth from Jerusalem and passed[1] over the Euphrates,[2] and he founded a city on the Euphrates, and called it Barĕtâ. And he marched on from the Euphrates and arrived at the land of the Island,[3] and he travelled eastward to Môṣul,[4] and he crossed the Tigris[5] by means of a bridge which was made for him.

He crosses the Euphrates and Tigris.

Then Alexander, having made ready, went out to do battle with Darius the king in a place called Bêzâ, and there was war[6] between them for forty

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conquest of Tyre, which had caused him some trouble. See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chapp. 34, 35.

[1] ወለለሬ፡ originally in the MS.

[2] The course of the Euphrates, الفُرَاتُ, is described by Yâḳût (ed. Wüstenfeld), tom. iii. p. ۸٦٠; by Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. I. p. 214 f; and *Aboulféda* (ed. MacGuckin de Slane, p. ٥٢.

[3] ደሴት፡ seems to be a translation of an Arabic name for Mesopotamia الجَزِيرَة; see Yâḳût, tom. ii. p. ٧٢; and Masʿûdî, tom. V. p. 441, 1. Its full name seems to be, الجزيرة بين دجلة والفرات "Al-jazîra between the Tigris and Euphrates"; see *Aboulféda* (ed. MacGuckin de Slane), p. ٢٨٣.

[4] ሙሰል፡ = المَوْصِل, the famous city on the Tigris which is situated exactly opposite to the ruins of Nineveh; for a good description of the city see Yâḳût (ed. Wüstenfeld), tom. iv. p. ٦٨٢ff; Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. ii. p. 92ff; Ibn Batutah (ed. Defrémery), tom. ii. p. 134ff.

[5] The Euphrates is probably meant here. Pseudo-Callisthenes (Bk. ii. chap. 9. Müller, p. 64, Meusel, p. 743) has καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀριανῆς παραγίνεται εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τοῦτον γεφυρώσας ψαλίσι καὶ σιδηραῖς κνήμαις ἐκέλευσε τὰ στρατόπεδα περᾶσαι.

[6] Read ቀትል፡

He defeats the satrap Ardeshir.

days—now the captain[1] of the host of Darius was Ardeshîr the satrap—and the armies fought against each other for five days from early dawn even unto nightfall, and Ardeshîr the satrap had with him a large army of soldiers besides those who belonged to Darius. And it came to pass that when the battle had waxed strong between them for the space of five days that the satrap was defeated, and all the soldiers of the army who were with him were slain. And Alexander's men continued to pursue the Persians until they arrived at Ḳêsṭôn(?) on the bank[2] of the river Tigris, and he crossed the river by the bridge of Ḳêsṭôn, and came to the gate of the royal city. And he made his army to halt, and he went about among them ordering them to make ready to fight, and he exhorted them, saying, "O men, the world no longer "existeth for you, and it remaineth with God Al-"mighty only to do good unto you. Put ye your "trust in God Almighty, and place your confidence "in none other, for victory cometh from Him, and "He will not suffer you who make entreaty unto "Him to be disgraced. And now to die with glory "is better for you than to live with disgrace. Let "not the multitudes of the soldiers of Darius terrify "you, neither be ye afraid of his might and power, "for God shall destroy him in the midst thereof "[p. 43]. And behold, he is confident that it is he "who hath driven us into this place, and that he

The Greeks pursue the Persians.

Alexander exhorts his men.

[1] Read ሊቀ ፡ ሐራሁ ፡ [2] Read ድንጋግ ፡

"hath brought us together here according to his "will. And, now, we beseech Thee, O God, merci-"fully to look upon us, and to strengthen our feet, "and to help us this day, by reason of this evil-"doer, for he [claimeth] to illumine the seven climes[1] "even as doth the sun, and he boasteth himself in "the multitudes of his soldiers. It is meet for no "man to place his trust in the world, for it heapeth "disgrace and shame upon him that is noble, and "it payeth honour unto the man of no account. "I beseech you all that ye give not yourselves unto "the love of this world, but let your hearts and "minds be set upon the slaughter of your enemies; "and[2] set [not] death before your eyes if ye desire "to overcome your foes, and remember not that "which is behind you."[3] And thus saying, Alexander commanded the horns to be sounded and the drums to be beaten, and he encouraged them to fight.

Preparations for battle.

And it came to pass when the horses of each army charged, and the men of Darius joined battle with those of Alexander, that death was scattered broadcast among them, and the soldiers of Alexander's army did not hear the voice which cried, "There "is no strength for us save in God Almighty", by reason of the clash of armour; and they remained

The armies meet.

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[1] *I. e.,* the whole world: see above, p. 2.

[2] Read ወኢትሬስዩዎ ፡

[3] This speech calls to mind Alexander's address to his soldiers after he had ordered the bridge by which they had crossed the Euphrates to be broken; see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 9.

fighting thus until daybreak and until the brightness of noon, and blood flowed freely among them on all sides, and many of the soldiers in each army perished. And when the soldiers were wearied each army withdrew to its camp that they might rest themselves a little, but when they joined in battle once again the strife between them was prolonged for forty days, and the number of the men who were slain on both sides is known to none save their Creator. Now when Alexander knew that his horsemen and his foot-soldiers were wearied and worn out, and that the strength of all his men in whom he had inspired confidence had fallen to the ground [**p. 44**], he was terrified for them and feared greatly: and he withdrew [from the fight] his foot-soldiers and his horsemen, and all such as were left of his warriors and fighting men.

A forty days' fight.

And it came to pass at this time that Darius the king dug out places and entrenched them, and he placed in each trench twelve companies (?) of horsemen, who continued the battle by charging into Alexander's camp from time to time in turns: now their charges only took place at the fifth hour [of the day]. And Darius had commanded his troops to bring unto him each day the heads of two Greeks belonging to Alexander's army, and they captured the heads of two Greeks [each day]. Then Alexander was afraid for himself, and he said, "They will slay [all] my friends by this method of "warfare, and there is no way in which I can do

Tactics of Darius.

battle with them;" and great sorrow came upon him by reason of these things, and he was exceeding wrathful. And he sent to Darius the king a letter in which was written:—

Alexander writes to Darius.

"O mighty king, I have discovered a matter in "which there is advantage both for thee and for "me. Thou givest orders to thy soldiers always "to make me to come into thy camp; as I am "neither afraid nor will run away let me come, "so that no man shall accuse me of shame and dis-"grace. Or, again, I will go back to my own "country, and in this thou wilt find a reason and "a cause for boasting: be thou not backward in this "matter."

Then Darius, the king of Persia, made answer, saying:—

Darius' answer.

"O king, I see not [things] as thou seest [them], "and I cannot grant what thou hast asked. There "is only one way for us in this matter; either we "make a league together for peace or one of us "two shall depart vanquished."

When Alexander heard this letter he bowed down to the ground. And he rose up and lifted up his hands, and cried out to his army, saying, "Up [, men], with one consent, and whether for my "sake, or whether for our own, let us [p. 45] heal "our hearts[1] upon our enemies." So Alexander and his whole army rose up with one consent, and both armies joined in battle, and multitudes of men were

[1] Read እልባቢን ፡ እምጸላዒን ፡ and *dele* ኒን ፡

slain. And when Darius the king saw that his foot-soldiers, and his horsemen, and his mighty men of valour were scattered, and were slain, and were destroyed, he turned and fled, and was vanquished. And Alexander said unto his soldiers, "Scatter them abroad", and a herald went round about among his soldiers, saying, "Pursue them not "when they flee, lest their defeat be an artfully "contrived plan; and turn ye not aside to make "spoil of their possessions;" and he gave them orders, saying, "Bring ye unto me every general whom "ye shall find." And when the soldiers heard his words they put the Persians to the sword,[1] and they ceased not [to slay] them until the night came: so God healed their hearts, and He healed the heart of Alexander and the hearts of his soldiers.

Flight of Darius.

Now Darius the king had escaped and fled until he came to a mighty river,[2] and he passed over

[1] This battle must have been that which Pseudo-Callisthenes (Bk. ii. chap. 16) describes as having taken place on the river Strangas, wherein as much damage seems to have been done to the Persian army by Darius' chariots armed with scythes as by the Greeks; πολλῶν δὲ Περσῶν ὀλεθρίως τελευτησάντων, ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος φοβηθεὶς ὑπέστρεψε τὰς ἡνίας τῶν ἁρμάτων τῶν δρεπανηφόρων καὶ τροχιζόντων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὄχλους καὶ θεριζόντων· αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαρεῖος ἐθέριζε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄχλους τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀρούρας στάχυας ἀγρῶτας κείροντες. Meusel, p. 751.

[2] The Strangas, which was frozen, and which Darius succeeded in crossing safely; under the weight of his followers, however, the ice broke, and they were all drowned except such as were slain by the Macedonians.

a number of streams together with the remainder of his army; and Alexander pursued them with his horsemen and overtook them, but he did not kill them, for he cried out to them and promised them by the Faith that he would deal graciously with them and would not make an end of them utterly. And Darius the king had departed from them, being conquered, and had gone into the heathen temple[1] wherein he worshipped, through fear of Alexander. Meanwhile Alexander had himself come into the city of Darius, and he captured the mother of Darius, and his wife, and his daughter, and all his men servants, and maid servants, and all his possessions, and vessels of gold and of silver,[2] and goodly raiment, the like of which had never before been found among kings.

Alexander pursues the Persians.

Capture of the family of Darius.

And when Darius had come into the house of his gods he wept before them, and he sat down sorrowfully, [p. 46] and meditated what he should do, and he thought of the destruction of his army, and of his generals, and of his mighty men of valour, and of the people of his country, and of his house,

Darius takes refuge in a temple.

[1] Literally, "house of idols"; the Gr. has ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον αὐτοῦ.

[2] According to Plutarch (*Alexander*, xx), this victory was a splendid one, and Alexander slew more than a hundred and ten thousand Persians. Alexander took Darius' bow and chariot, and his soldiers reserved for him the Persian king's tent, wherein were found rich furniture and quantities of gold and silver. That the mother and wife of Darius and two unmarried daughters were among the prisoners was told him while he sat at meat.

and of his kinsfolk, and of how the men of Persia[1] had perished,[2] and he said to himself, "There is "nothing at all left for me, and it will be better "for me to die than to become a vassal." And while he was thus meditating in his heart he wrote a letter to Alexander, which was as follows:—

He writes to Alexander.

"From Darius the king to[3] the lord and prince "of kings, the conqueror of all the peoples of the "earth, who is over all kings, and to whom victory "hath been given. Put not your confidence in the "world, and let not that which hath been given "unto thee thereof lead thee astray. [My ancestors] "loved the things of Greece and the goods of this "world which profited them not in any way, and "their days have passed and gone: some of them "turned aside [from the battle, some of them] fled, "and were conquered and their soldiers were slain, "and their empire perished as soon as they[4] had

[1] The preceding paragraph describes what took place after the battle which Plutarch (*Alexander*, xx) says was fought between the Greeks and Persians upon a piece of ground which had the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and was intersected by the river Pinarus. But that the defeat after the battle of the Strangas is referred to is clear from this sentence which is a free equivalent of the Greek καὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀνοιμώξας σὺν δάκρυσιν ἐθρήνει ἑαυτὸν ἀπολέσας τοσοῦτον πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τὴν Περσίδα ὅλην ἐρημώσας (Müller, p. 73, Meusel, p. 752).

[2] Read ተኃጕሎቶሙ ፡

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 17 (Müller, p. 73, Meusel, p. 752).

[4] Read ፈቀዱ ፡

"the desire for the destruction of the people of the "west. Do thou, now, thyself consider also how "[quickly] the kingdom of even those who were "victorious passed away. And now, behold, thou "hast conquered us by thy might, according as "is thy power, then, deal kindly with us; to thee "we pay honour, and to thee we submit. Know, "moreover, that I honour my mother, and my wife, "and my daughter above all the women in the "world,[1] for they are the objects which I cherish, "and the light of my eyes, and the desire of my "heart. If thou wilt release them and send them "away according to their rank, with their handmaid-"ens and with their men servants, I will send to "thee gold and silver, together with their orna-"ments, and their apparel, and their precious stones, "for their deliverance; and moreover, I will make "supplication to my god to exalt thee and to help "thee, and to give thee victory."[2]

So Darius sent [this] letter to Alexander.

And when Alexander had read the letter before all his friends [p. 47] they took counsel together

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[1] Read ዓለም ፡

[2] In the Greek Darius refers to the greediness of his ancestor Xerxes, who for the sake of the gold and possessions invaded Hellas, and having suffered defeat lost all that he had; although he was richer than Crœsus he could not escape death. Darius begs for mercy on his mother and children, and promises to give Alexander all the wealth which is in the countries of Bactria, Media, and Susa if he will send them back to him. See Müller, p. 74, col. 1.

concerning what Darius had written therein to him. And when Salmûs, [one of] the king's counsellors, had heard the letter, he said, "O king, I will speak "and tell thee sooth. When Darius shall restore "to thee the tribute which he took from us in days "of old then will we restore[1] to him his mother, and "his daughter.[2] And why did he not send this "message to us before he did battle against us?[3] "Now that God hath holpen us, and we have driven "him from his country and from his army, and have "captured his mother, and his wife, and his daughter, "he wisheth to come to us with pretexts such as "these. And moreover, know that had he con-"quered us he would have destroyed us, and he "would have debauched our women, and laid waste "our country and our cities. Know, too, that "Darius hath behaved shamefully towards us in "laying tax and tribute upon our country, and "in setting himself up above us, but behold, our "God hath holpen us against him, and we have "sought Darius[4] with our words, and we have "found him by the help of the glorious God. And

Speech of one of Alexander's counsellors.

[1] Read እምአግባዕን ፡ [2] Read ወሰደድዎ ፡

[3] The Salmûs here mentioned is, no doubt, Parmenion, and his speech should end here. The Greek makes him to say ἐγὼ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐλάμβανον (ἄν) τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν δεδομένην σοι, καὶ ἀπέδωκα Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ κοιμηθεὶς μετ' αὐτῶν (Meusel, p. 752), but both the Syrian and Ethiopian translators have softened the latter part of the speech.

[4] Read ለዳሬ ፡?

"as for thee, O king, may God Almighty grant "thee life to pursue Darius, for he is a rebel against "the glorious God, and thou shalt lay waste[1] his "country, and thou shalt take no pleasure in any-"thing whatsoever until God Almighty shall have "brought him into thy power. But thou art a "king, and whatsoever thou desirest and seest fit "[to do] unto him shall be good in our sight."[2]

Alexander destroys the Persian idols.

Then Alexander answered and said, "O man, "thy words are right, and what thou sayest is true, "and if God, the most High, pleaseth, I will do this."[3] And it came to pass that Alexander straightway commanded the friends of Darius to be brought out, and he slew them and buried them;[4] and again he commanded the gods of Darius to be burnt and his graven images to be destroyed. Now Darius had escaped and fled, and Alexander went forth to seek him, and he prepared himself for flight.

Letter of Darius to Porus.

And[5] it came to pass that Darius wrote to Porus,

[1] Read ወእመዙብር ፡

[2] There is no authority in the Greek for this; see Müller, p. 74, col. 1, Meusel, p. 753.

[3] In the Greek Alexander's speech is much longer, and in it occurs the famous passage, the sense of which has appealed so strongly to the Oriental admiration for him πλὴν αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λίαν αἰσχρόν, ἄνδρας τὸν ἄνδρα ἀνδρειως νικήσαντα ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἀθλίως ἡττηθῆναι.

[4] In the Greek Alexander causes the wounded soldiers to be nursed and the dead to be buried in a fitting manner; see Müller, p. 74, col. 2.

[5] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. II. chap. 19 (Müller, p. 75, Meusel, p. 754).

the king of India, and he asked him [for help] in his letter [p. 48], saying this:—

"From Darius, who was the king of kings, to "Porus the king of India [, Greeting]. Formerly I[1] "dwelt in my kingdom in glory and in power, but "now I entreat thee to receive me and to be pleased "graciously to help me, because of this mighty "man of war who hath come upon me; he knoweth "not fear, his courage is mighty,[2] and his body is "thick, and I never saw his like either among "kings or among all other men. Behold, too, "he hath gained possession of my women, who "are the source of my depravity, and behold I "came upon the [Greeks] in several places, but I "was not able to beat them. And he hath over-"come me and put me to shame because there "was none [among us] able to do battle against "him.[3] He hath taken my kingdom, and hath car-"ried into captivity my mother, and my wife, and "my daughter, and there is nothing left to me but "death; and it is better for me to die than to be-"come his servant. And now, help me, and do "thou take heed to the love which hath always "existed between us, and do thou make ready for "me an army of the soldiers of thy country, for "[Alexander and his hosts] are mighty men of war "and are strong. Hasten thou to me with this

Darius speaks of his defeat.

[1] Read አንሰ ፡

[2] ጽኑዓ ፡ ልብ ፡ = θηρὸς ἀγρίου ψυχὴν ἔχων (Müller, p. 75, col. 2).

[3] ተቃትሎት ፡ altered into ተቃትሎቱ ፡

"army, for I place my hope and confidence in thee, "and I will abide on the borders of my country "until thy message shall reach me, and I will deal "graciously with those who shall come unto me "from thyself and from following thee, and I will "reward them abundantly with possessions. If I "conquer Alexander I will send to thee one half "of whatever I find with him."[1]

Promises to share the booty with Porus.

And it came to pass that when Alexander heard these things he straightway commanded his army to make ready for war, and he and all those who were with him rose up, and they pursued Darius the king,[2] but they found him not.[3]

Alexander's search for Darius.

Then Alexander spake unto the Persians, saying, "Is there any man among you who will devise "some scheme for me which will lead me happily "out of my trouble? And who will guide me to the "place where Darius the king [is hidden]? [If there "is] I will do for him whatsoever he desireth, and "I will exalt him [p. 49] above my army." And it came to pass that when the Persians heard these words two of Darius' men, whose names were in the Persian language Ḥâshîsh and Arsalâs,[4] promised to do this thing, and they went in search

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[1] Darius also promised to give to Porus Alexander's horse Bucephalus.

[2] Alexander set out for Media, but on his way he heard that Darius was in Ecbatana.

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 20 (Müller, p. 76, Meusel, p. 754).

[4] In the Greek Βῆσσος καὶ 'Αριοβαρζάνης.

of Darius their king, and they determined to slay him so that they might receive a great reward from Alexander,[1] inasmuch as it would be they who had slain his enemy. So they drew their swords and came nigh unto the place where Darius was, and he perceived that they wished to slay him, and he sank down before them, and spake unto them, saying, "O my masters—for al- "though in the times which are past ye were in- "deed my servants, to-day ye are my masters— "is there any injury which I have ever done[2] unto "you that[3] ye should murder me, and should not "be my helpers this day? Surely Alexander and his "friends would not slay me by your hands.[4] Ye "have seen how I have loved you, O my soldiers, "and how graciously I have dealt with you. More- "over, inasmuch as ye are my friends, when ye "have slain me, being my friends, Alexander will "not love you [for it], but he will take vengeance "upon you and will murder him who murdered "me." And when he had spoken unto them thus, the two horsemen rose up against Darius, and smote him with their swords, and stabbed him, and he fell down from his horse. Now Alexander's horsemen[5] found Darius before his own horse-

Darius appeals to the satraps.

Darius stabbed, but rescued by Alexander's soldiers.

[1] Read ቡኑበ፡
[2] ዘአኅሠምነ፡ altered into ዘአኅሠምኩ፡
[3] Read ከመ፡ [4] Read በእደዊክሙ፡
[5] The horsemen were part of the Macedonian army which had succeeded in crossing the frozen river Strangas and had

men had slain him, and Ḥâshîsh and Arsalâs left him for Alexander to do unto him as he would, and to make his voice heard[1] by his enemy. And when Alexander's horsemen found that they captured Darius they sent to Alexander, and he came to the place where they were, and they went to Darius; and he commanded his horsemen to stand by and not to seek for any of [his] men. And it came to pass that when Alexander saw Darius bathed in his blood, he wept over him, and he had compassion upon him, for he was a merciful [p. 50] man; and he drew nigh and came down from his horse, and he spake unto him comfortably, and lifted up his head, and laid it upon his own breast, and he covered him with his garment, and wiped his face with a napkin. And when Darius saw in what manner Alexander treated him, he wept again, and he stretched out his hand and laid it upon Alexander's breast, and he took hold of his hand and kissed it; and Alexander poured healing medicines into his wounds. And Alexander turned and kissed the eyes and head of Darius, and he wept, saying, "I thank God that thy murder "did not take place by my hand, or by the hand "of any of my men; it hath, however, taken place, "as thou seest, by the decree of the glorious God." And Alexander spake a second time unto Darius, saying, "O Darius, rise up from thy lowly place,

Alexander comforts Darius.

Alexander's speech to Darius.

come to the palace of Darius; see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. chap. 20.

[1] Read ይስማዕ ፡

"and sit again on thy royal throne [and rule] over "thy country and thy people. And the Lord my "God knoweth that my words are true, and that "I will neither lie unto thee nor act deceitfully "towards thee, for I will restore unto thee, inas-"much as I lie not unto thee, everything which I "have taken from thee; and I will restore thy wives "unto thee, and I will help thee against thine ene-"mies whensoever they shall attack thee. I myself "have eaten of thy bread in the days when thou "wert well and happy, that is to say, [I have eaten "of] the oil-seed.[1] Rise up, then, and be not afraid "because of that which thou hast done in times "past, for it is not meet for great kings to be "overwhelmed with grief because affliction hath "come upon them, lest their enemies have them in "derision both by reason of the way in which they "receive such things, and by reason of that which "hath happened to them. For the children of men "are so created that they may not know what shall "come upon them; we are unable to hold in check "that which is harmful unto us, and we cannot "bring to ourselves that which is favourable unto "us. Now [all] this happeneth by the decree of

Men's fate unknown to them.

[1] The words "that is to say, the oil-seed" seem to be an explanation by the scribe, who apparently did not understand to what the author alluded. The allusion is to the meal which Alexander ate with Darius in his palace when he had gone to the Persian king disguised as a Greek ambassador; the incident is recorded in Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 15, and see the Ethiopic text, vol. I. p. 245.

"the glorious God Who hath decreed this for us. "But tell me who hath done this deed unto thee, "and I will gain the mastery over him and take "vengeance upon him [p. 51] on thy behalf, if God "the most High pleaseth."

And when Alexander had uttered to him the words "God the most High", he was stricken with grief for Darius, and again he wept bitterly. Then Darius asked Alexander to allow him to lay [his head] upon the breast of one of his servants, and Alexander took his hand and placed it upon his mouth, and he kissed it while tears poured from his eyes. And Darius said, "O king, glorify not "thyself, and magnify not thyself above thy "power,[1] [and think not] that thou canst perfect thy "will in all the earth, and that thou canst rule over "it, and that thou canst march into all the ends "thereof; and think not that because thou art a "mighty king thou canst attain unto whatsoever "thou dost determine. For I know that what is "decreed of God is unalterable, and that none "knoweth His counsel, neither king nor subject; it "hath neither respect unto a king because of his "kingdom, nor doth it despise the poor and needy "because of his lowly estate, and everything "happeneth according to what is decreed by the "glorious God. And we know from Him, O king, "that there is nothing left unto us. Consider now "what I was, and yet unto what condition have I

Alexander's grief for Darius.

The lament of Darius over his fate.

[1] Read ንፍሰከ ፡

"now fallen! Formerly it was meet that men should "say throughout the world that I was the king of "all the kings of the earth, and yet, behold, thou "hast found me cast down to the dust. I am afraid "of every one who shall look upon me, whether "he be little, or whether he be great; my kingdom "hath passed away and is gone, and I am forsaken "and left alone; I am remote from my army, I am "remote from my camp, I am remote from my "counsellors, and I am remote from my friends; "we all belong unto God Almighty, and unto Him "shall we return. And now behold the pains of "death have laid hold upon me."

The dying requests of Darius.

Then Alexander said unto Darius, "Ask of me "whatsoever thou wishest, and I will do it for thee." So Darius asked three things, and he spake unto Alexander, saying, "Firstly, I would that thou shouldst "not reduce the poor and needy to slavery and to "misery; secondly, I would [p. 52] that thou shouldst "treat honourably the nobles of Persia, for they are "noble,[1] and that thou shouldst deal graciously unto "the freeborn and the honourable men, and unto "the priests who are among them; and my third "request is that thou wilt take vengeance for me "upon those who murdered me, and that thou wilt "make them to drink of the cup of which they "have made me to drink; for as they have not "kept in mind my good deeds [unto them], in like "manner they will not remember the kindnesses

[1] Read ኄሩን ።

"which thou mayest bestow upon them. And when "thou hast buried me thou shalt stand at the head "of my army and the Persians shall be the objects "of thy care, for they are noble and capable men." And Alexander undertook [to do] all that Darius asked him.

Alexander wishes to marry Roxana.

And Alexander spake once again to Darius, saying, "I have one request to make unto thee," and Darius said unto him, "What is it?" Alexander saith unto him, "I wish to marry thy daughter "with thy will and good pleasure,"[2] Darius said unto him, "Marry her, and may thy seed which "shall arise after thee be like unto thee." And Alexander did marry the daughter of Darius in the presence of the whole army which was[3] there. And again Darius laid Alexander's hand upon his mouth, and saying, "Thou hast added my life unto "thy hand," he died.

Death of Darius.

Then[4] Alexander ordered them to bring a splendid bier meet for a king, which was scented with all manner of sweet scents, and to make for Darius a coffin, wrought with gold and studded with precious stones, such as was suitable for a king.

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[1] In the Greek Darius commends his mother to Alexander's care, he asks him to show pity upon his wife, and he gives his daughter to Alexander to wife; see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 20.

[2] The MS. has ወበሥምረትከ ፡

[3] Read ኮኑ ፡

[4] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 21 (see Müller, p. 78, Meusel, p. 756).

And he ordered a herald to go round about through the camp, and proclaim that the soldiers should gather together, bearing their weapons of war on their shoulders, and that they should march before the bier containing the dead body of Darius; and he ordered that the chiefs and generals of his army should march by the side of it on the right hand and on the left. And Alexander the king

His burial.

came down from his horse and went on foot by the side of the bier to the grave, together with his bodyguard, and with the Persian soldiers, and with all the people in their various grades; [p. 53] then he commanded his soldiers[1] to lay him in the grave, but he did not himself bury him.[2] And the whole army of Alexander was sorry for him[3] with

The approval of the Persians.

a great sorrow. Now when the Persians saw these things they gave thanks unto Alexander, and they marvelled at the graciousness of his behaviour, and what he had done was pleasing unto them, and they became subject unto him.

And it came to pass that when Alexander had inherited the kingdom of Darius and had taken his seat on his throne, he wrote[4] a proclamation

[1] Read ለእሊኣሁ፡

[2] Read ይቅብርዎ፡ This seems to be the meaning of the passage. The Greek says that Alexander himself helped the satraps to carry the body on his shoulders, but Οὐ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἔστενον οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ ὅσον ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βαστάζοντι.

[3] Literally, "for me".

[4] Read ወጸሐፈ።

unto all the provinces of Persia, and unto all their armies, saying:—

"From Alexander, the servant of God, unto[1] "those who dwell in the provinces of Persia, and "in the cities and towns thereof. [Know ye] that "I love your salvation and hate your destruction, "and behold God Almighty hath holpen me to be-"come lord over your country, and He hath exalted "me and hath abased you. I have heard concerning "your noble rank and concerning your high estate, "and concerning your noble and honourable estate "with Darius, and I will render unto you according "to the use and wont of your noble persons, even as "Darius rendered unto you, if ye will enter into "subjection unto me, and will do my will, and will "pay tax and tribute unto my majesty. And I "would that each one of you should turn and enter "into faithful service to me, and that he should "forsake his former rebellious acts; and I would "that there should be no further dissensions among "you, and that ye should no longer vex yourselves, "and that ye should enjoy each his own pos-"sessions. Now I have both gold and silver which "I can give unto you, and I have no other people "to love besides yourselves, and I wish to place "my protection over you, and over your neigh-"bours, and I will help you against your enemies, "and I will deal graciously with you, even as Darius "dealt graciously with you in the [former] days of

Alexander's proclamation to the Persians.

Alexander invites the Persians to serve him.

[1] Read ኀበ፡

"your life. Your horses, and your wives, and your "apparel, and the ornaments of your wives, and "everything for which ye long will I give unto you. "And let no man [p. 54] go forth from his own "country into another, but gather ye together your "armour, and saddle ye your horses, and prepare "ye yourselves and hold yourselves in readiness "that I may take the best of your men to march "with me. If there be any man among you who "hath no armour I will give him armour for "nothing."

Alexander seeks out the murderers of Darius.

And when Alexander had finished writing his proclamation he sealed it and sent it by the hand of the ambassadors who were with him, and then looking upon his soldiers, both Greeks and Persians, he spake unto them, saying, "Behold Darius "the king hath perished, and he was slain by the "hand of a certain man, and a reward is due unto "him that slew him. And I desire to know who "murdered him, for it is meet for him that I should "give [him gifts], and that I should receive him, "and that I should improve his condition, and "that I should promote him to honour, and that I "should exalt his rank, for he hath slain mine "enemy, and hath pleased me, and hath holpen my "kingdom." Now while Alexander was thus speaking the Persians[1] opened their ears, and each man looked at his neighbour. And they said, "Alexander the king [speaketh thus] because he

[1] Read ለሰብእ ፡

"wisheth to know in very truth what is in our "hearts." When Alexander heard these words from them he spake unto them, saying, "I wish to know "who is the murderer[1] of Darius in order that I "may reward him for what he hath done; whether "he be Greek or whether he be Persian let him "come unto me, and I swear by God Almighty "that I will exalt the murderer of Darius exceed- "ingly, and in such a way that all men may know "how great he is in my sight." And when Alexander had thus sworn, all the Persians broke out into lamentation, and they wept for their king because they thought that Alexander esteemed lightly the blood of their king.[2] And it came to pass after these things that the two horsemen Ḥâshîsh and Arsalâs came forth with joy and said to Alexander, "We are of the friends of Darius the king, "and we ourselves are those who slew him." And Alexander [p. 55] questioned them closely concerning what they had said, and they were not found to have spoken falsely in the matter. Then they sware unto him that in very truth it was they who had slain him, and they said, "Behold our swords "which are filled with the blood of Darius," and Alexander himself knew what they said to be true: and they produced witnesses to give testimony for them from among the remainder of their men, that they were those who had slain Darius. Then Alexander ordered them to be put in chains, and

Grief of the Persians.

The murderers declare themselves.

Alexander puts them in chains.

[1] Read ቀታሊሁ ፡ [2] Read ለንጉሦሙ ፡

he went[1] to Darius' grave and commanded that they should be crucified there. And [the two horsemen] said unto him, "Where is[2] thy oath in "which thou hast made us to put our hope, and "with which thou didst swear unto us? But thou "art a deceitful king, and one who doest thine own "will." Alexander saith unto them, "God knoweth "that I will not lie unto you, nay, I will do gladly "unto you that which I promised, for behold, I will "exalt you above my own army and above that "of Persia; and I will award unto you that which "is meet for you, for ye are worthy of the reward "which I will give you because ye have acted "treacherously towards your king. Moreover, I say "unto you, Saw ye ever any man who, having shed "his master's blood, was beloved by another master? "No king whatsoever could have confidence in him "after such a thing." So Alexander ordered them to be crucified on two great beams of wood, each one of which was forty cubits in length, and he said unto his generals, "Behold, what I have ordered to be done unto these men is meet for "them, because they behaved treacherously towards "him that loved them, and I will show no pity "upon them, for how did they show pity to another? Behold I have ordered[3] for them that "which I promised them, that is to exalt them "above all my hosts." And when the Persians saw what Alexander had done they loved him exceed-

The murderers crucified.

Gratitude of the Persians.

[1] Read ወሖረ ፡ [2] Read ይእቲ ፡ [3] Read አዘዝኩ ፡

ingly. And he commanded his soldiers to pass by beneath the two horsemen while they were being crucified, and a herald went round about before them, saying, "Behold I have given unto "you that which I promised to give you."

Then Alexander wrote[1] to [p. 56] the mother and daughter and wife of Darius—now previously, when he had entered into the city he had taken them and had sent them back to their place, and he had left with them a number of soldiers while he himself made ready for war[2] until such time as God should help him—and he wrote a letter which began thus:— **Alexander's letter to the Persian princesses.**

"From Alexander, the servant[3] of God, the son "of Philip, to the honourable ladies the mother and "wife of Darius.[4] Behold now, we pursued Darius "because enmity existed between us, but since God "hath been my helper against him I abominate "him that murdered him,[5] because I wished to "restore unto him his kingdom, and to give to "him a position of honour over many. Now be- "hold, two of his friends murdered him, and I and "my soldiers found him,[6] while as yet his soul had "not passed from his body, bathed in blood; and

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 22 (Müller, p. 80, Meusel, p. 757).

[2] Read ለፀብዕ ፡   [3] Read ገብረ ፡

[4] The Greek has βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Στατείρᾳ καὶ Ῥοδογούνῃ καὶ Ῥωξάνῃ.

[5] In the MS. ቀተሎ ፡ has been altered into ቀታሎ ፡

[6] Read ወረከብክዎ ፡

"I mourned over him with a bitter grief because "I found him in the agonies of death. And I "stripped off my garments and laid them upon "him, and I staunched his wounds with strips[1] of "linen from my garments, and I questioned him "concerning the things about which I wished to "question him, and he answered me, and he be-"queathed to my care his mother, and his wife, "and Rasîḳ [Roxana] his daughter, and then he "died; and I do not call to mind anything else be-"sides this. And after these things I had him "made ready for burial, and I laid him in a coffin, "and I did unto him whatsoever it was meet to "do unto kings, and I buried him in a magnificent "tomb such as was suitable for a king. Now be "strong, and of good courage, for behold I will "make you to rule over Persia, and behold I will "marry Roxana, the daughter of Darius, according "to his will and good pleasure, in the presence of "many of the Persians, and I will deal graciously "with her, and I will love her, and will honour "her, and will magnify her if God, the most High, "pleaseth."

Alexander describes Darius' death.

He will marry Roxana.

And it came to pass that when [p. 57] Alexander's letter had reached them they wrote an answer to it; now there was written in their letter thus:—

The reply of the Persian Queen and princess.

"We make supplication unto Him Who hath "removed the crown from Darius and hath set it

[1] Read ወእገዘፉሬ ፡

"[upon thee], and Who hath taken away the king-"dom of Persia from us that He may grant unto "thee a victorious rule over thine enemies, and "that He may exalt thee over all kings, and that "He may bless thy kingdom. As for us, we are "under thy royal power and dominion, and according as thou wilt do unto us even so will we do "unto thee; we do not choose death rather than "life, for God Almighty hath added honour unto "us by thee. And moreover, thou hast thus be-"haved by reason of thy faith. And we forgive "thy fore-fathers, for we have never seen any man "behave better or more honourably than thyself "towards us. And now, having the power, do as "thou pleasest. Thou art unto us as Darius, and "we will magnify thee exceedingly, and in thee "will we shew ourselves glad. And behold, we have "sent our messengers unto all the Persians [bidding "them] to submit unto thee, and they will consent "to do this thing because thou art their lord and "their crown, and we ourselves will work upon "them to do so. Peace be upon thee."

And Roxana, the daughter of Darius, wrote a letter to Alexander in which she spake thus:—

"Roxana crieth 'Peace to thee,' and she proclaim-"eth thy goodness, and she placeth the crown "[of Persia] upon thy head because thou hast thy-"self chosen her, and hast magnified her, and hast "loved her, and hast received her from her father "before his death that thou mightest marry her. "And behold, thou hast acted nobly, even as the

Roxana's letter.

"kings who are like unto thee are wont to do. "And behold, I have written to the armies of "Persia[1] and have informed them concerning the "marriage of Roxana, the daughter of Darius the "king of Persia, and that there are very few men "like unto thee in disposition, and in understanding, "and in fame [p. 58]. And [I have told them that] "Darius being dead he hath left us to reign in his "stead, and that his daughter who hath inherited "the kingdom from him will marry according to "the wishes of the satraps and nobles of Persia, "and that if no male child be born to her and "there be a daughter, she shall inherit the kingdom "after Alexander."

And the answer of the satraps of Persia and of their nobles arrived [speaking] of [their] submission to Alexander the king, the Two-horned, and of his

Submission of the Persians.

gracious deeds [saying], "Formerly we should have "chosen death in preference to a life [of subjection], "or even poverty and misery in preference to a "life [of submission], but now we welcome Alex-"ander's rule gladly, for honour and glory are "added unto us thereby'."

And Roxana sent her own letter, together with the letter of the Persians at the same time, to

Alexander returns thanks to God.

Alexander, and when he saw Roxana's letter, and that of the Persian nobles and of their satraps, he rose up before the glorious and most High God, and said, "I give thanks unto Thee, O my God

[1] The MS. has ተዓይነ፡ ተፋርስ፡

"and Lord, Who hast given unto me the things "which I am not worthy to possess in this world. "I have not attained unto them by mine own "strength, for I am a mortal man, and I am afraid "when my God looketh upon the feebleness of my "strength; but it is my God and Lord Who hath "given them unto me, and Who hath made these "creatures subject unto me."

Then Alexander wrote an answer to Roxana, saying, "I give thanks unto God Almighty, Who "hath given the Persians unto me, and Who hath "made them subject unto me by thy marriage "[with me], and behold, I rejoice and am glad in "thee and in them by reason of this thing. And "I have written to my mother to tell her of what "I have seen and of my marriage with thee, in "order that she may deal graciously with thee and "may treat thee with becoming reverence because "of it, and may send to thee such things as are "necessary for a queen, for I have heard concern-"ing thine honourable estate, and thy beauty, and "thine understanding, and thy renown. And I have "told her that I will be united [p. 59] unto Roxana "in a chamber in the royal palace which belonged "to thy father." Thus did Alexander write to his mother.[1]

He writes a second letter to Roxana

[1] In one letter which Alexander wrote to his mother he asked her to send feminine ornaments for Rodogune the mother of Darius, and for Statira his wife, and promised to send money in payment for them (see Müller, p. 81. col. ii);

Alexander marries Roxana.

Then Alexander the king went to Roxana and he was united unto her in her father's[1] house. And he saw the beauty of the ornamentation which was [wrought] therein in gold, and in silver, and in precious jewels, and in hyacinthine stones, and in brass and in other [substances] which it is impossible to describe.[2] And while he was with Roxana in the palace looking at the ornamentation which was therein, and at the hyacinthine stones which cunning craftsmen of old had wrought, he meditated within himself upon that which a man seeketh from a woman, and he did unto her that which man doeth unto woman. Now when it was morning he sent unto the mother and wife of Darius ornaments and [goodly] apparel,[3] and he magnified them and sent them away honourably. And Alexander sent again unto the nobles and satraps of Persia, and he gave them magnificent gifts, and

His gifts to Rodogune and Statira.

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in another letter he asks her to send royal apparel for Roxana.

[1] Read አቡሃ ፡

[2] In Müller (p. 82. col. 1) this chapter ends:—Τοὺς δὲ γάμους ἐν ἑτοίμῳ πεποιηκότες, τελείας καὶ πολλῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως γενομένης περὶ τὰ βασίλεια, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ῥωξάνῃ ἐτέλεσαν, and in Meusel (p. 759), δεξάμενος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα ἐν ἑτοίμῳ πεποίηκεν τοὺς γάμους ἐν τοῖς βασιλίοις Δαρείου· καὶ τίς ἱκανῶς διηγήσεται τὴν ἐκεῖ τότε γενομένην χαράν.

[3] No doubt the things which he had asked Olympias to send him (ἀποστεῖλαί μοὶ τὸν γυναικεῖον κόσμον καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν τῆς μητρὸς Δαρείου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς, (Meusel, p. 759).

established them in their [various] ranks, and he behaved graciously unto them; and they all loved him, and he took the best men among them with him to carry on [his] war in India.

And[1] Alexander heard that Porus, the king of India, had come to the aid[2] of Darius, the king of Persia, but when Porus heard that Darius was slain he returned to his country together with his troops. And Alexander entreated God Almighty to help him against Porus, the king of India, and he spake to his army concerning Porus, the king of India, and concerning the armies which he had gathered together to him, and he commanded his soldiers to make ready to march. Then Alexander set out and travelled for a period of four days until he arrived at the confines of the country of Porus, and it was a terrible country with lofty mountains and mighty rivers, and it was vast and spacious, and Alexander marched on rapidly. And it came to pass that his soldiers were worn out and weary, and their souls were afflicted, and they spake [p. 60] among themselves, saying, "The king be- "haveth ill towards us, and he will wear us out by "this thing which he wisheth us to do; he hath al- "ready exhausted us by fighting against our enemies. "God Almighty hath destroyed Darius by our "hands because he wrongfully demanded tribute

Alexander wishes to fight Porus.

Revolt of the Macedonians.

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 1 (Müller, p. 94, Meusel, p. 769).

[2] Read ይትራዳእ ፡

"from us, and therefore our war against him was "meet and right. But now we shall only destroy "ourselves in the wild waste of this country if we "march on to do battle against those who never "did any harm unto us, and of whom we have "never heard of any hostility or that they ever "invaded our territory during the whole course of "our days. Now Alexander is a warrior, and he "loveth war and to invade foreign countries, and "to conquer men and to be king over them; but "is it required of us who are his soldiers to destroy "ourselves with fatigue and exhaustion?"

Now when Alexander heard their words he gathered together his armies, and he gave them the sign and ordered that the Persian horsemen should stand apart by themselves, and the Greeks and Macedonians by themselves. And he stood up between them and spake unto the Greek and Macedonian peoples and unto the Persian horsemen, saying, "Behold, ye know that the Persians have "submitted unto me with a good grace and that they "have become friends and allies. Now if there be "among you any man who wisheth to go back to "his own people and to his own country, let him "go back [forthwith], and if it please you that I "should march against your enemies by myself, I "will go on your behalf. Only remember that it "is to myself alone that God Almighty hath given "victory in [my] wars against your enemies, for "although ye were my helpers yet for victory I "relied upon the Lord my God; for in His hands

Alexander rebukes the Greeks.

"are all things, and it is He Who giveth power[1] "and conquest unto whomsoever He pleaseth. Know "ye, moreover, that it was my counsel and command which ye followed, and that it was I who made "supplication to the glorious God Who gave me His "aid against Darius; for ye were a [p. 61] people "who did not know how to fight against your enemies, and ye were in fear of them, and ye gave "tribute unto them, and they brought your country "into sore straits, and whenever they defeated "you they left you nothing whatsoever. Behold, "now, what I have wrought for you I have wrought, "and I myself alone have set you free; I myself "have made a resurrection, and I will not turn back "[therefrom], for God the Highest hath holpen "me, and I have vanquished your enemies. Whosoever, then, among you desireth to return to "Macedonia let him return, and make yourselves "brave soldiers if ye are able so to do, and I[2]— "if God the Highest pleaseth—will not leave behind you any enemy who shall make you to be "afraid.[3] And as for myself, I will not go back "to Macedonia, but I will march on according to "the command of God; whosoever is with me is "with me, and whosoever rejecteth me rejecteth me."

He calls to their mind his services.

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[1] Read ኃይለ፡ [2] Read እንሰ፡

[3] The Greek gives the speech a different ending:—ἄπιτε καὶ διασώσασθε ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ μὴ ἀμφισβητήσατέ τι εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐδὲν δύναται στρατιὰ ἄνευ φρονήσεως βασιλέως (Müller, p. 95, col. 1).

The soldiers crave his pardon.

Now when Alexander had said these things [all the Greeks and Macedonians] fell down upon the ground before him, and spake unto him, saying, "We entreat thee, O our master, to forgive us "our transgressions and to pardon our offences, "and to let us march before thee whithersoever "thou goest; we will deliver the king[1] from all "evil, and we will do whatsoever thou commandest "us. Take not vengeance upon us by reason of "what we have done, for thou hast received dom-"inion over us from the glorious God." Then was Alexander reconciled unto them, and gave them large gifts.

And[2] it came to pass that Alexander wrote a letter unto Porus, the king of India, wherein he spake thus:—

Alexander's letter to Porus.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful and Gra-"cious! From Alexander the servant of God, the "son of Philip, the king of the kings of the world, "to Porus, the king of India [, greeting]. God the "Highest hath exalted me and hath cast thee down, "and He hath holpen me and hath abased thee, "and He hath set wisdom and knowledge in my "heart, and hath made me to know[3] His might "and dominion, and His exalted habitation and "power extend [p. 62] throughout all His creation. "Nothing whatsoever can be hidden from Him,

[1] Read ለንጉሥ ፡

[2] In the Greek Porus writes first; see Müller, p. 95.

[3] Read አእመርኒ ፡

"not even the deepest, darkest places of the earth; "He knoweth the things which we hide secretly, "and the things which we do in the light; He is "the Creator of the whole world, and the Maker "of the universe, and besides Him there existeth "no other god. Behold now, inasmuch as He hath "set me in a wide place I desire neither to lay "waste the earth nor to shed the blood [of the "people thereof], nay, I would rather stablish the "earth and would make strong the mighty work "thereof. Let him that would deal with violence "with me receive the words from me. And," Alexander continued to say unto Porus, "send thine "answer[1] unto me speedily by the hand of my "messenger, and I will make answer unto thee "quickly likewise. For, behold, I gathered together "my troops after [the battle with] Darius the king, "who was slain, and God Almighty destroyed him "by my hands and blotted out the Persians. And "I have delivered my judgments among them, and "I have given unto them some of my generals, "and God Almighty hath given unto me the trea-"sures which they had laid up. Be then wise and "understanding, and be not puffed up and say, "'I will reduce this Greek servant to slavery, and "I will give him service to perform', for, behold, "I say unto thee that thou shalt receive [this "slavery] from me. And, as it is neither meet nor "right for any [king] to invade the territory of

The majesty of God.

The defeat of the Persians.

[1] Read በአውሥአትከ ።

"another king without [first] sending him [news "thereof, I send thee this letter]."

The answer of Porus.

Then Porus,[1] the king of India, made reply, and he sent his answer to Alexander, saying:—

"From Porus, the king of India, to Alexander "the Greek [, greeting]. Behold now there hath "reached me thy letter wherein [thou sayest] that "thou wishest to come unto me and how thou hast "gathered together thy armies. Now I[2] say unto "thee, O Alexander, that no king whatsoever is "able to invade our country by reason of the "strength of our kingdom and of our country, and "by reason of the immense number of our soldiers, "and the great power of our mighty men of valour, "and of our fortresses, and no king could ever "think of such a thing. Now, although thou didst "conquer [p. 63] Darius the king [and dost reign] "over his kingdom, do not imagine that thou wilt "terrify us thereby, or that the fear of thee will "enter into our hearts. Darius sent unto me [to "come] to help him against thee, and, behold, thou "believest that I set out to come against thee. "But do not think that we shall rise up to make "war against thine armies, for, although I am quite "able to overcome thee with my hosts, and with

Porus describes his hosts.

"my hyaenas, and with my elephants, and with my "savage lions, and able to make ready the path of thy

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 1 (Müller, p. 94, Meusel, p. 769).

[2] Read ወአንሰ ፡

"destruction [I will not do so], for thou art a wretch-"ed slave, and thou hast no desire for war. And "because it was granted unto thee to conquer "Darius, dost thou imagine that thou wilt vanquish "the whole world? Behold, thou hast exalted thy-"self very much beyond thy power, and thine imagi-"nation hath carried thee away, and thy mind hath "flattered thee, and thou lovest that which hath been "given unto thee, and thou sittest down in the "midst[1] of thy work. And now restrain thyself, "and say not within thyself that all kings are alike, "and turn back [to thine own country] that [thy] "kingdom may be given unto thee, and act not "the part of an enemy against thyself. For it "was only at the time when his own friends with "counsels of destruction slew Darius, the king of "Persia, and by reason of his inability to fight "successfully against thee and thy gracious acts "[towards him] that he bitterly cursed [his] life; and "so now thou hast sent [messengers] unto us to make "us afraid, and to strike terror into us. I know well "what folly is thine, and that it is the feebleness "of thy counsel which hath induced thee to march "against us. And I will remember thy letter until "I come unto thee, when I will make thee to taste "bitterness, even as thou hast tasted the sweets of "the world. But I should disgrace myself if I were "to come out against thee, and it would be no "profit for me to slay thee, because thou art only

Porus taunts Alexander.

[1] Read ውስተ ፡

"a Greek slave and of no account. Proceed not "to carry on war, for it is unseemly for thee to "march against any king whatsoever, and therefore "think not of this thing; for thy father, of his own "good will and pleasure, used to pay tribute [unto "Darius]. Behold, now I have made answer unto "thine ambassadors concerning [the letter] which "thou didst send unto me by them."

Alexander sets out for India.

And it came to pass that Alexander [p. 64] rose up and set out on the march before [his] ambassadors reached Porus, and he marched on with his troops and arrived at a country filled with trees and forests; and he halted with them therein, and they hid themselves until they had put their instruments of war in good condition. And Porus, the king of India, heard thereof, and he sent a second letter to Alexander which is as follows:—

Porus writes to Alexander a second time.

"From Porus, the king of India, to Alexander "the son of Philip the Greek. Behold, news hath "reached me of what thou hast done, and of how "thou hast arrived hither having passed through "other countries and provinces, and of how thou "hast passed over our boundaries [to fight] against "our men. Thou imaginest that thou art able to "vanquish the gods whom we ourselves worship, "and who have informed us of thy invasion of our "territory which thou hast made against us, but "behold, thou wilt only waste thyself, and destroy "thyself, and do harm unto thyself. Moreover, "because, by the decree of God Almighty, the days "of Darius have come to an end, dost thou imagine

"that thou wilt conquer the whole world? And "what would it profit thee if thou didst conquer "the whole world?[1] And as for myself I am he "who hath never been conquered,[2] and I do not "wish to slay any one of those who are before "thee. And shall I not inform thee that when "Deyârôs,[3] the king[4] of all Arabia, wished to have "from us what thou hast wished that I expelled him "from his country and overcame him even as the "dog overcometh the sheep (?), and that his people "perished by our hands and by the furious and sharp "attack of our vast numbers of weapons of war? "Now if thou desirest the escape of these who are "with thee and thine own salvation, turn thee back "as soon as ever [this] my letter reacheth thee, for "thou art not able to do battle with me by reason "of the smallness of the number of thy troops "wherewith thou didst do battle against Darius. "Thou hast exalted thyself overmuch in thine own "opinion, and thou hast drawn nigh to do battle, "but bethink thee whether the forces which thou "hast brought [with thee] are more powerful than "mine, or if thy weapons of war are more nume- "rous than those of Porus the king of India. And

Porus the "invincible"

Advises Alexander to return.

[1] Literally, "what is there to thee in this"?

[2] Gr. ἐγὼ οὖν ἀήττητός εἰμι· οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων τυγχάνω βασιλευς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν (Müller, p. 95, col. ii).

[3] Dionysos is referred to here: the Gr. has καὶ παρόντα γὰρ Διόνυσον, ὃν λέγουσι θεὸν, ἀπήλασαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει οἱ Ἰνδοί.

[4] Read ንጉሥ ፡

"now turn thee back unto thine own country, and "know, too, [p. 65] that if there had been any good "thing in your country we should have overcome "you and have taken possession of your country, "and that we should not have left it for Xerxes "your king of kings. Moreover, your country is "a wretched place in our eyes, and we know that "there is nothing at all in it which may be desired "by kings. Now I live in a rich country, and all "the people of the earth make entreaty to us to "be allowed [to come hither], and we forbid them; "no one hath ever come to our country except "thyself, and thou hast only thyself to blame." And Porus sealed his letter[1] and sent it to Alexander.

The meanness of Macedonia.

And it came to pass that when the letter reached Alexander he read it before all his army, and he hid nothing at all of the words of his adversary from his soldiers, and he spake unto them, saying, "O men, let not that which Porus, the king of "India, hath written and sent unto you make you "afraid. Do ye not remember with what [insolent "words] Darius, the king of Persia, sent unto me? "Let not then these words make you afraid, for "the kings of [this] country know not how to weld "together their counsels, and they can [only] make "war with their mouths; moreover God Almighty, "the most High, knoweth both them and their "soldiers. Now[2] let not lions, and panthers, and "elephants terrify you, for they have neither

Alexander addresses his troops.

[1] Read ለመጽሐፊሁ ፡ [2] Read ወእመሰ ፡

"knowledge nor understanding in them, and they "are unable to concoct plans against men either "by their strength or by their intelligence, and "therefore we vanquish and overcome them by "weapons, and by horses, and by men, and by "the help of God Almighty."

And it came to pass that when he had spoken these words unto his soldiers they became of good courage, and they rejoiced within themselves.[1]

Then Alexander wrote a letter to Porus in answer to his letter, saying:—

"From Alexander, the Two-horned, the servant "of God Almighty, to Porus, the king of India, "[Greeting]. Behold, thou hast written unto me "concerning what I wish to do: now I wish to "meet thee speedily [p. 66], and behold I will "march into thy country with all haste. And thou "hast written unto me in thy letter saying that the "things which are coveted by [foreign] kings, and "which [their] eye[s] have never seen, are to be "found in thy country, therefore do not thou blame "[foreign] kings when they come to thy country, "for therein are the things which kings love, and "the things wherewith is satisfied the delight of "their souls. And again, thou hast mentioned that "there is in thy land food which is suitable for "kings, and behold, we love these things, and the "desire of our souls is towards the things in thy "country of which thou hast spoken to us, and we

Alexander's reply to Porus.

The Greeks long for the wealth of India.

[1] Read ወተፈሥሑ ፡

"shall never be satisfied without the possession of "them all. Now I will hasten with all speed to "come unto thee, be ye ready then therefore, for "we will not turn back for thy letter's sake, because "we are ready for the day of battle. And inasmuch as the Greeks are poor men and there is "nothing at all which kings would desire to have "in their country, and ye men of India are rich "in your country and have beautiful things in "abundance, we desire to see actually that which "we have hitherto only seen described in thy "letter, namely, those things which exist in thy "country. Thou hast also mentioned that thou art "the king both of gods and of men, but your gods "are vain things, and thou hast puffed up thyself "deceitfully, and God Almighty shall humble thee "to the dust because thou hast magnified thyself "and hast arrogated to thyself great power. And "I have marched against thee having my confidence "in God Almighty, and I have hope in my God "against Whom thou hast magnified thyself, that "He will help me against thee. And know also "that thy letter shall not turn us back[1] from [coming "to] thee, and that God, Who is able to do all things, "will help me against thee, and that He will give "unto me the occasion for fighting with thee."

The vanity of the Indian gods.

And it[2] came to pass that when [this] third letter

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[1] Read ኢይመይጠነ ፡

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 3 (Müller, p. 96, Meusel, p. 771).

reached Porus, the king of India, he read it to his soldiers, and they gathered themselves together. Then he commanded them to bring forth many elephants and fierce lions which had been trained [p. 67] to fight in battle, and he gave orders that they should be used to fight against Alexander; and they went forth and stood in their companies, and they kindled many very large fires.[1]

Porus makes ready for war.

And it came to pass that when Alexander's men perceived these things they were sore afraid, and when they saw the elephants and lions standing [there they trembled]. And, moreover, a mighty fear came upon Alexander also, for he knew not how to fight with lions and elephants, and he had never before had experience with such [warfare].[2] Now he saw that the bears and the lions were covered over with iron armour, and that the soldiers were provided with weapons the like of which he had never seen. And when Alexander saw this, mighty dread came into his heart, and having

The Macedonians are afraid.

[1] The object of the fires being to frighten the wild animals and to make them more savage.

[2] According to Pseudo-Callisthenes, Alexander, dressed as a Greek messenger, went to the town where Porus was, and was straightway taken by the Indians into the presence of their king. Porus made enquiries about Alexander, and when the supposed messenger told him that he was alive and well, and wished to see Porus the king, Porus took him out and shewed him his camp and the wild beasts, and said, Go, and tell Alexander that I will bring such beasts as these to fight against him ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς ὁμοίους σου θῆρας ἐξάγω σοι πολεμεῖν. See Meusel, p. 771.

dug a trench in the ground with an earth embankment round about, he pitched [his] camp and turned from the host; then he took counsel with his counsellors and with the wise men his friends, and they advised him to make brazen and iron images of elephants. And they made for him twenty and four thousand exact images[1] of elephants, for when Alexander came into the country he brought with him from their various provinces a great number of smiths skilled in the art of metal work, and there were in his army fifty thousand workers in metal.[2] And when the elephants were finished the soldiers filled them inside with wood and set it on fire, and when the images had become blazing hot the Greeks brought out the chariots and set the images before them, and they dressed [images of men and placed them] inside them as if they had been men in very truth; then the trumpets were blown and the drums were beaten, and they advanced to do battle. And when the soldiers of Porus, king of India, heard the sound of the trumpet they marched out to battle, and the two armies met; and Alexander[3] made his well-trained soldiers to advance, and they brought nigh to

The Greeks make elephants of brass.

The battle.

[1] This number is also given in the Syriac version (ed. Budge, p. 90), but it is lacking in the Greek, which has ὅσους ἂν εἶχεν ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ καταφράγματα στήσας τρόπαια, τούτους ἐκέλευσεν πυρωθῆναι κ. τ. λ. See Meusel, p. 771.

[2] There is no authority in the Greek for this number.

[3] Read ወእልእስክንድርስ ፡

him the elephants [p. 68] which were with them.[1] And it came to pass that when the elephants of Porus, the king of India, came up to the images which Alexander had made and twisted their trunks about them, they burnt their trunks, and they turned round and rushed away in a body to the rear;[2] and the Persian soldiers cut down the soldiers of Porus as they fled. Now when God had turned back the elephants[3] the courage [of the Greeks and Persians] was strengthened, and they joined in the fight.[4] Then Porus, the king of India, called the magicians from the temple of his god and they cast a spell upon Alexander, and his mare rose up under him and threw him on the ground, and she refused to rise up until he could lead her;[5] now she was the mare which had by sorcery been born at the same time as himself.[6] And Alexander thought that he would be conquered, and he was in great tribulation about himself and about his soldiers. And he was going about among his troops and encour-

The flight of the Indians.

A spell thrown on Bucephalus.

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[1] Read **ዘምስሌሁ ፡** or **ዘምስሌሆሙ ፡**

[2] Read **ለድኅሬሆሙ ፡** [3] Read **ለሐራምዝት ፡**

[4] The Greeks shot arrows after the Indians, and harassed them with their cavalry καὶ τούτους ἐπεδίωκον τοξοβολίαις καὶ ἱππομαχίαις. See Meusel, p. 771.

[5] Πίπτει δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἵππος ὁ Βουκέφαλος ἐξασθενήσας τῇ γνώμῃ· καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἀμελήσας τοῦ πολέμου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κ. τ. λ.; see Meusel, p. 771. A variant quoted by Müller (p. 97) has διαληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πώρου, καὶ ἐξησθένησε τὴν γνώμην.

[6] See above, p. 19.

aging them to fight, and he bade them to be of good cheer; and as he went he led his horse,[1] and he did so because he feared lest she should be carried off by the enemy.[2] And Porus continued to fight with Alexander for twenty days, and many of Alexander's horsemen were slain, and by reason of this there was such great sorrow among them

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[1] According to Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, LXI) Bucephalus received several wounds in the battle with Porus, of which he died some time after. Onesicritus, however, says that he died of old age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander esteemed him as a friend and companion and greatly mourned his death, and in his honour he named a city which he founded Bucephalia.

[2] Marco Polo was told in "Badashan" that the people there had originally possessed a breed of horses from the strain of Alexander's Bucephalus, all of which had from their birth a peculiar mark on the forehead; see Yule, *Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 166. The Kataghan breed of horses from Badakhshan and Kunduz has still a high reputation. The Chinese have a tradition that a stallion of supernatural origin lived in a cave in this region, and that the people brought their mares to him yearly, and that a famous breed was derived from the foals; see Yule's note, p. 170. The Arabs have a tradition that God, by the hands of Gabriel, created the horse out of a handful of the south winds, and that He set a white mark on his forehead and on his legs. When Adam was created God asked him which he preferred, the horse, or the animal Borâḳ (البراق) which had the form of a mule and was without sex: Adam chose the more beautiful of the two animals, *i. e.*, the horse, and God said, "Thou hast chosen that which shall be a lasting glory for thee and thy children so long as they live." See Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. IV. p. 23.

that they wept and howled like dogs, and they wished to throw down the arms[1] which were in their hands and to forsake Alexander and go over to the enemy. The dismay of the Macedonians.

And[2] it came to pass that when Alexander saw this he drew nigh unto their midst, being himself in great tribulation, and he wished to stop the fight. And having commanded the soldiers to cease fighting, he cried out, saying, "O Porus, king of "India, behold I perceive and know thy strength and "might, and moreover, what thou doest lieth hard "upon me, and my heart is aweary; and I have "considered the fatigue whereby we all are perishing. "Now, although I may wish to destroy my own "life [p. 69], I would not that all these men [who "are with me] should perish, for it is I who have "brought [them] nigh unto death here, and it is "not a right thing for a king to deliver his soldiers "unto death and to save his own life. Now I would "that we command our armies to cease fighting "for a little, and that we two go down and do "battle with each other; whosoever slayeth his "neighbour shall take his kingdom, and his soldiers "shall be servants unto him, and whatsoever he "willeth he shall do unto them." Alexander offers to meet Porus in single combat.

And it came to pass that when Porus, the king

[1] Some words like ንዋየ ፡ ሐቅል ፡ have dropped out of the text.

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 4 (Müller, p. 98, Meusel, p. 771).

of India, heard these words, the thing was pleasing unto him, and he rejoiced within himself, for he was a strong and mighty man and of huge stature.[1] Now Alexander was small and weak, and Porus, the king of India, held him in contempt, and he imagined that he would be able to stretch out his hand towards him and to seize him [in it]. So Alexander ordered his soldiers to cease fighting, and Porus ordered his troops to cease fighting, and the two armies retreated each to its own place; then Alexander and Porus drew nigh to each other, each going on foot. And it came to pass that when Porus the king, on hearing a terrible uproar among his soldiers, turned round and looked behind him to see what had happened among his troops, Alexander, who was watching the king of India, saw him turn, and rose up against him and stabbed him with [his] sword above his shoulders, and he pierced him also in his belly and slew him. Now when the army of Porus saw that their king was slain they were smitten with grief, and became full of wrath, and they threw themselves again into the fight. And when Alexander saw that they had returned to the battle, and that they fought desperately and fiercely against him and his troops whom they mowed down like grass,

The duel.

Porus is stabbed and dies.

[1] Porus was five cubits high, but Alexander was not three ἦν γὰρ Πῶρος πηχέων ε̄, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ τριῶν; see Meusel, p. 772. Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, LX) makes his height four cubits and a span (τεσσάρων πηχῶν καὶ σπιθαμῇ).

he was greatly terrified,[1] and feared that they would be utterly destroyed by the Indians. Then he uncovered his head, and spoke to them, saying, "O men of India, why do ye [p. 70] carry on this "fight, and destroy yourselves?" And they made answer to him, saying, "We will fight until we die "that we may not fall into your hands, and that "ye may not become masters over us [to do with "us] as ye please." And the Two-horned king said "unto them, "Whosoever will lay down his weapons "from his hands let him come to me and place "his faith in me, and I will give unto him what-"soever things and raiment he shall desire, and I "will set him in authority and will pay him honour, "for behold, your arms are mine." Now he spake these words unto them as they were sorrowing for their king, and as they were fighting with great energy in battle; and Alexander spake thus because the Greeks were not able to do battle with the Indians. And it came to pass that when the Indians heard what gifts Alexander had promised unto them, they believed [him], and laid down their arms from their hands before Alexander, the king, the Two-horned; so Alexander and his soldiers ceased from the fierceness of battle.

Alexander offers the Indians amnesty.

The Indians accept.

Then Alexander sat upon the royal throne and put on the royal crown of Porus, the king of India, and he took his kingdom and his army, and his son, and his gold, and his silver, and his armour,

Alexander, king of India.

[1] Read ደንገጸ ፡

Alexander buries Porus.

and everything which was in his royal palace, the gold, and precious stones, and the rich and costly apparel, and he took everything which was in the country of the Indians, both of riches and arms. Then Alexander commanded them to wash Porus, and they brought him a beautiful bier for him, and they washed him in musk and in rose water, and they made him ready for the grave, and buried him in a place which was meet for his royal rank; and Alexander set guards to watch his tomb even as he did for Darius, the king. And Alexander appointed the nobles and chiefs of the Indians to rule over them, and he marched away from them, [p. 71] having brought them into subjection unto him and having included them in his kingdom. Then Alexander desired to see the country of the Brahmans—now they are those whom Zosîmâs[1] the ascetic mentioned—when he heard the fame of their wisdom and knowledge which [had spread] in the world, and how they forsake the lusts[2] of the flesh.

Alexander visits the Brahmans.

Now[3] when the Brahmans heard that Alexander

[1] It is probable that our author refers to the famous monk of whom Rosweyde (*Vitae Patrum*, p. 382) writes:—"In monasterio Palaestinorum fuit vir vitae moribus et verbo ornatus, qui ab ipsis cunabulis, monachicis est actibus diligenter instructus, et conversationibus veraciter educatus nomine Zosimas." His date is unknown.

[2] Read ፍትወት፡

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 5 (see Müller, p. 99, Meusel, p. 772).

was coming to them, they[1] sent unto him certain of their sages, and with them they had a letter which read thus:—

"From the Brahmans, the men of wisdom and "knowledge, and the fearers of God Almighty [to Alexander]"—Now it was these men over whom Elijah, the prophet, boasted when he spake before God Almighty words of prayer on behalf of Ahab, the king of Israel, whose wife, the queen, had sent to him.[2] And he said,[3] "O God, they have slain "thy prophets, they have overthrown Thine altars, "and I, even I only, am left to make mention of "Thee, and they seek my life [to destroy it]." And "the Lord spake unto him, saying, "Boast not "thyself before Me that thou art the only man "[left] to worship Me and to call upon My name, "for I have seventy thousand [men] who worship "Me and who have not bowed the knee to Baal-"Peor, and who have not acknowledged any other

The letter of the Brahmans.

The origin of the Brahmans.

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[1] Read ፈነው ፡

[2] Her message to Elijah was, "So let the gods do to me, and more also, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them (*i. e.*, the dead prophets of Baal) by to-morrow about this time;" see I Kings, XIX. 2.

[3] The passage is quoted from memory, apparently, for Dillmann's text (I Kings, XIX. 10) reads ወይቤሎ ፡ ቅኒአ ፡ ቀናእኩ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘኵሎ ፡ ይመልክ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኀደጉከ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ መሥዋዒከኒ ፡ ነሠቱ ፡ ወቀተሉ ፡ ነቢያቲከኒ ፡ በኵናት ፡ ወተረፍኩ ፡ አነ ፡ ባሕቲትየ ፡ ወየሐሥሥዋ ፡ ለነፍስየ ።

"god besides Me".[1] These were they to whom "Alexander, the king of the Greeks, went, and this "is what they[2] wrote unto him:—"If thou hast

[1] The passage in I Kings, XIX. 18, reads:—ወታተርፍ ፡ ፸፻ብእሲ ፡ ኵሎ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢሰገዱ ፡ ለበዐል ፡ ወኵሉ ፡ አፍ ፡ ዘኢየመልክ ። it is quoted from memory, with additions.

[2] According to Megasthenes (Strabo XV. I. 59) the Indian philosophers were of two kinds, the Brachmanes and the Garmanes; it was to members of the former sect that Alexander put questions. The philosophers lived upon frugal diet in a grove, and they lay upon straw and skins. They ate no animal food, and abstained from women for thirty-seven years, but after that period they could and did marry. They talked much of death, which they regarded as the birth to real life, and they held the present life to be that of one conceived in the womb. Their actions were better than their reasoning, and their belief was founded chiefly on fables. They believed that the world was created by a god who pervades it everywhere, that it is spherical in shape, that the principle from which it was formed was water, and that it occupied the centre of the universe: besides the four elements there is a fifth nature of which the heavens and the stars are made. They believed in the immortality of the soul and in punishments in Hades. According to Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard), tom. I. p. 154f., the Brahmans take their name from Brahman, who reigned three hundred and sixty-six years; some believe that he was Adam or a prophet sent by God to the Indians, but others only look upon him as a king. The Brahmans ate the flesh of no animal, and men and women wore a yellow thread around their necks. In the days of Brahman seven of the wisest of his descendants assembled and tried to discover the secret of the world: —whence they came and whither they were going, whether the cause of their creation was wisdom or folly, who created them, and why, having created them, he brought death to them.

"come and wouldst do battle with us, turn thee "back to thy place, because it is unseemly for thee "to fight with us. For we are poor and needy "men, and we have neither possessions nor riches, "and we have only the food which we eat from "day to day.[1] We have neither corn nor barley, "nor flocks nor herds, and we have no business "of any kind whatsoever, except the worship of "the glorious God, for our God is the Merciful "One. We are the remnant which is left of the "children of Seth,[2] the son of Adam, whom God "Almighty covered over [p. 72] in the hidden place "of His treasures when he sent the flood upon the "earth.[3] In our country there is nothing for which

The Brahmans descended from Seth.

[1] Or, "and we do not eat food except from day to day," *i. e.*, we eat one meal a day only.

[2] According to the *Book of Adam and Eve* (ed. Malan, p. 118f.) Seth and his children lived to the north of the mountain of the Cave of Treasures; because of their purity they were called "Children of God". They did no earthly work, and thought only of singing hymns and psalms unto God; they neither sowed nor reaped, and they ate the fruit of the fine trees which grew on their mountain (Compare καὶ ἐθεώρησεν ὕλας πολλὰς καὶ δένδρα πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρκαλα μετὰ καρπῶν παντοδαπῶν, ποταμὸν δὲ περικυκλοῦντά ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην, οὗ ἦν τὸ ὕδωρ διαφανές, λευκὸν ὡσεὶ γάλα κ. τ. λ., Meusel, p. 773). The children of Seth came down from their mountain seduced by the daughters of Cain, and when they tried to return they found that they were unable to do so, because they had defiled themselves with women, whose hands and feet were dyed with colour, and whose faces had divers tattoo marks on them.

[3] The *Book of Adam and Eve* (ed. Malan, p. 155) states

"kings might lust, and we have no knowledge of "war. But if thou wishest to came to us to worship "the glorious God then do so if thou wilt. We "have no possessions whatsoever except wisdom "and knowledge, and we have no men [among us "trained] in war, and this thou canst find out if "thou wishest. And as for thee, God Almighty "hath given unto thee the knowledge and craft "of war [and of the things] which are in the world, "and to us have been given the knowledge of "Himself and remoteness from this world."[1]

And when Alexander had read their letter he went[2] to them, and he commanded his soldiers and troops to pitch their camp on the borders of

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that the sons of Seth ran round the ark of Noah when the deluge came, and begged him to open the door and take them in, because they were unable to climb up into their holy mountain, the stones of which burned like fire; but God had sealed the ark to them, and when the waters rose they were drowned.

[1] According to Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, LXIV), Alexander put his questions to ten of the most acute and concise answerers among the Gymnosophists, and threatened that he would put to death the first person who answered wrongly; the same writer asserts that the Gymnosophists had brought numberless troubles upon the Macedonians.

[2] Strabo states (XV. I. 63 ff.) that Alexander felt that he could not himself go to the Brahmans with propriety, and he, therefore, despatched Onesicritus to them; the envoy was received with such scant courtesy by one of the naked sages called Calanus that Mandanis, a brother sage, felt it to be his duty to reprimand his associate for insolence.

their country,[1] and he marched on to them with only a few of his friends. Now when he had come to them he found them to be naked men, and poor and miserable, and they dwelt in the mountains and in caves; and their women, and children, and aged folk fed upon the herb of the field like animals; and Alexander sat down in one of their places and sent after their chiefs and sages. And he asked[2] one of their chiefs, saying, "What is the manner of your life and also of your "death?" And an interpreter made answer to him,[3] saying, "The life which we lead is thus. We fast

The Brahmans naked.

Alexander asks them questions.

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[1] Read ምድሮሙ ፡

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 6 (Müller, p. 100, Meusel, p. 773); and Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LXIV. According to the Greek, Alexander asked the Brahmans ten questions which Pseudo-Callisthenes gives as follows:—1. Have ye no graves? 2. Do the living exceed the dead in number? 3. Which is the stronger, death or life? 4. Which is the larger, the earth or the sea? 5. Which animal is the most cunning? 6. What is kingship? 7. Which came first, the night or the day? 8. Which limbs are the best, those of the right or those of the left side? 9. Have ye a ruler? 10. Have ye any possessions? In Plutarch the questions are nine:—1. Do the living exceed the dead in number? 2. Does the earth or the sea produce the largest animals? 3. Which is the craftiest of all animals? 4. What was your reason for persuading Sabbas to revolt? 5. Which do ye think the older, the day or the night? 6. What are the best means for a man to make himself beloved? 7. How may a man become a god? 8. Which is the stronger, life or death? 9. How long is it good for a man to live?

[3] Read ወይቤሎ ፡

"all the day from morn until eve. Every man "among us has a wife and child. When the evening falleth we come to the forest which is in "our district, and we sit down under the trees "thereof, and we fill ourselves with fruit and we "all eat thereof, together with our wives, and we "all satisfy ourselves; we drink of the water of "the river until [p. 73] we have had enough, and "then we come back and are as before until the "morrow. When any man among us marrieth a "wife he abideth with her for a season. If she "conceiveth, her husband removeth himself from "her until she hath brought forth, and until her "child hath grown up; now if it be a man child "[her husband keepeth away] until the child can "feed himself upon the herb of the field, and then "the woman goeth back to her husband until she "conceive again. We do not do these things by "reason of the lust of the flesh or through desire "for women, but only that we may raise up seed, "that our posterity may not be cut off. We are "naked people, both men and women, but no man "looketh at the shame of a woman, and no woman "taketh heed to the shame of a man. We have "set apart as our work the praising and the sanctifying of God,[1] and [when] at daybreak we hear "the angels singing praises unto God Almighty,

Manners and custom of the Brahmans.

[1] Compare Arrian, *Hist. Indica*, XI. οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἁπλῶς ἐπεῖναι τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν, ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν.

"we offer praise [to Him] even as do they. We "have knowledge of everything which is in the "world, and of [that] which shall befall kings, for "the angel of God hath been sent unto us and he "hath told us of everything in the world, whether "it be good or whether it be evil. And behold, "the angel of God Almighty hath informed us of "thy history before ever thou didst come out from "thy country and before thou didst wage war "with [other] kings, and didst conquer them and "didst seize for thyself their kingdoms. Now the "things which thou hast done have been done "neither by thee nor by thine own strength, but "by the hand of God the Great[1] and Mighty One, "because these kings [whom thou hast overcome] "were evil-doers and men of exceedingly great "iniquity".[2] When Alexander heard their words he gave thanks unto God that His knowledge and power had been given [unto them].

Alexander's history revealed to the Brahmans.

And again he asked one of the Brahmans, saying, "Have ye no tombs wherein to bury any "man among you who may die?"[3] And an interpreter made answer to him,[4] saying [p. 74], "Man, "and woman, and child grow up, and arrive at "maturity, and become old, and when any one [of

Alexander's second question.

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[1] Read ኃያል ፡

[2] Much of the above is given by Cedrenus (Bonn ed. tom. i. pp. 267, 268) but in Pseudo-Callisthenes there is no equivalent for the Ethiopic text.

[3] Gr. τάφους οὐκ ἔχετε. [4] Read ወይቤሎ ፡

"them] dieth we bury him in the place wherein he "lived; thus our graves are our houses. And our "God knoweth that we desire this more than the "lust for food and meat which all men have; this "is our life and manner of dwelling in the darkness "of our tombs."

Alexander's third question.

And again Alexander asked a Brahman, saying, "Tell me what I ask thee: Which men are the "more numerous, those that are dead, or those "that are alive?" And the Brahman spake unto him through an interpreter, saying, "Those who "have died and gone to their rest. For they "are the more numerous because of the length of "the period of time [which hath gone by], for the "days which have passed over the world are many, "and those which now live are fewer. For the "generation which will come hereafter is not to "be counted among those who are now alive—and "dost thou not know that thy legions are few in "our sight? and thus it cometh to pass that those "who are like unto thee are [not] more numerous "than the dead."

Alexander's fourth question.

And again he asked another of their men, saying, "Is death mightier than life, or is life "mightier than death?"[2] And the interpreter spake unto him, saying, "O king, life is said to be "mightier than death." Alexander said unto him, "How knowest thou this?" And he said unto

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[1] Gr. τίνες ἆρα πλείονές εἰσιν, οἱ ζῶντες ἢ οἱ νεκροί.

[2] Gr. τί ἆρα ἰσχυρότερον ὁ θάνατος ἢ ἡ ξωή.

him, "When the sun rises in the east he is a type "of life, for he conquereth the darkness, and so "likewise when those who are dead and who are "in the darkness of the grave shall rise up again, "their life shall shine seven times brighter than "the sun and moon, and they shall live the life "that endureth for ever after their death".[1]

Alexander's fifth question.

And again Alexander asked another of their men, saying, "What is the wickedest thing in "all the creation of God the Highest?" The interpreter answered him, saying, "Look at thyself, "[p. 75] and consider what thou hast heaped up, "and how many men have perished by thy hands, "and how thou hast been a foe to the people of "the world, and how thou hast slain those who "are therein, and yet thy soul is not satisfied: "but thou shalt not conquer death, and [thy] few "[soldiers] shall not profit thee, and behold, thou "shalt die, even as the kings who were before "thee have died". And it came to pass that when he had said these words to him Alexander was not angry thereat, for he know that he was a man of learning in the world, and he himself was wishing to receive[3] knowledge and wisdom from him.

Alexander's sixth question.

And again Alexander asked another of their

[1] In the Greek it is said that the sunrise is the emblem of life, and sunset the symbol of death, for when the sun rises his rays are strong, and when he sets they are weak.

[2] Gr. τί ἆρα πάντων ζῴων πανουργότερον.

[3] Delete ይንሥዕ ፡ after ወውእቱኒ ፡

men, saying, "Tell me, now, concerning what I "am going to ask thee. Is the night older than "the day, or is the day older than the night?"[1] The interpreter answered and said unto him, "The night is older than the day, for the crea-"tion took place in the darkness. In the Book "of the Law it saith thus: 'And darkness was "upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of "God was brooding above the deep'.[2] Moreover, "the child in the womb first dwelleth in darkness, "and then cometh forth into the light of the world; "even so are day and night."

Alexander's seventh question.

And again Alexander asked another of their men, saying, "Who is he that cannot be deceived?"[3] And [the interpreter answered] and said unto him, "God Almighty, Who giveth understanding, and "from Whom nothing can be hidden."

Alexander's eighth question.

And again Alexander asked another of their men, saying, "Which side of a man is the better, "the right or the left?"[4] The [interpreter answered and] said unto him, "The right and the left side "have each their own [qualities], but the left side "is better than the right, for when a woman

[1] Gr. τί πρότερον ἐγένετο, ἡ νὺξ ἢ ἡ ἡμέρα.

[2] Genesis i. 2. There is no reference in the Greek or Syriac to this verse of Genesis.

[3] The Syriac, and not the Greek, has an equivalent for this question and answer:—"Who is he whom we cannot "deceive by lying?" The Brahman said, "He to Whom all "secrets are revealed."

[4] Gr. Ποῖα κρείττονα μέρη τὰ δεξιὰ ἢ τὰ εὐώνυμα.

"suckles her child she does so at her left breast; "and when we make our offerings unto God "Almighty we offer them unto Him with our left "hand; and kings are born from the left hand, "and they grasp their [p. 76] royal sceptres in "their left hands, and they turn towards the right. "Now from the right hand cometh forth every "fair and good thing upon the earth, and there "also cometh forth therefrom every storm wind. "And again, in the later days there shall come "forth therefrom[1] the shedding of the blood of "men without mercy, and there shall also come "forth a curse upon creation together with the "word of falsehood. And men shall boast them- "selves and shall make themselves great, and they "shall exalt themselves above their power and shall "sing praises unto themselves".[2] Thus Alexander sat down and asked them questions until he had finished questioning them.[3]

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[1] Read **ወእምኔሁ ፡**

[2] In the Greek the answer runs:—The right; for the sun travelleth from the right towards the left in the heavens, and a woman giveth suck first with the left, and then with the right breast. The prophecy as to the shedding of blood in later days refers to the expected outburst of the peoples of Gog and Magog.

[3] In the Greek Alexander is made to ask for the chief of the Brahmans, and they shewed him Dandamis, who lay upon a heap of leaves on the ground with fruits before him; he greeted Alexander civilly, but made no attempt to shew him any respect. In answer to Alexander's question, "Have you any possessions?" he said that the things of earth and

The Brahmans ask Alexander to give them immortality.

And Alexander spake unto them, saying, "Ask "of me whatsoever ye will and I will give it unto "you". And they said unto him, "We ask thee to "make us immortal".[1] He said unto them, "What "man is able to live without death, seeing that "death is inherent in his body?" They said unto him, "If thou knowest these things why dost thou "kill the people of the earth? And when thou "hast overcome and slain all the people which are "on the earth, whither wouldst thou go therewith, "for when thou diest must thou not leave it unto "others?" Then Alexander said unto them, "No "one hath the power [to do] it, and no one is "able to do it except the glorious God, Who "doeth unto His creation according as He pleaseth. "Know ye not that the waves and seas only lift "themselves up when the wind bloweth upon them "and raiseth up billows, and that the leaves of the "trees only shake when the wind bloweth upon "them? Even so man can do nothing at all ex-"cept by the will of the Creator. Now if I were "to give up fighting [other] men would not do "so, because God Almighty hath implanted the "love of war in their hearts, and if it were not "so the world would not be in a right state.[2]

Alexander reasons with the Brahmans.

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sky were their possessions. When they were hungry, they ate of the fruit of trees, when they were thirsty they drank of the water of the Euphrates, and each man visited his wife once a month until two children were born to him.

[1] Gr. Δὸς ἡμῖν ἀθανασίαν.

[2] Gr. κἀγὼ οὖν παύσασθαι θέλω τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ

"Know[1] ye not that God promoteth to honour, and "bringeth down to the dust; and that He taketh "away [from some], and giveth [to others]? How "many [p. 77] of the noble ones hath He abased in "war, and how many of the humble[2] hath He "exalted thereby? And how many rich[3] men hath "He made poor, and how many poor hath He "endowed with great wealth thereby? Now doth "this happen by the decree of God or by the "decree of any one else? If there were no war[4] "this could not happen. Ye know that Darius "inherited his kingdom[5] from his father and from "his kinsfolk, and that they were the first who "enjoyed sovereignty over the earth—for Nimrod "the mighty man was of his brethren, and he was "the first who sat upon his royal throne[6]—and "that when I set myself in opposition to him God "Almighty withdrew from him his kingdom and "destroyed it. And it was God Who put the "thought of making war upon him into my heart, "and I slew him, and succeeded him in his kingdom. "For Darius being slain and leaving behind him

ἐᾷ με ὁ τῆς γνώμης μου δεσπότης (Müller, p. 101, col. 2, Meusel, p. 774).

[1] For most of what follows there is little authority in the Greek.

[2] Read ወኅሡር፡

[3] The scribe first wrote እመቡዑላን፡ and then corrected it into እምብዑላን፡

[4] The scribe first wrote ዝትሉ፡

[5] Read መንግሥት፡ [6] See above, p. 33.

Alexander's account of the Persian war.

"no man child, his daughter inherited his kingdom, "and God made me to marry her with the good "will and pleasure both of her father and of herself. "Now when he gave her unto me in marriage I "made my princes, and chiefs, and counsellors "witnesses that he did so of his own good pleasure "and from the desire of his heart. And he spake "unto me, saying, 'Into thy hand I give my spirit,'[1] "and do thou, even as thou desirest, take pos-"session of my daughter, and let my kingdom "belong unto thee'; with these words he died. "But I sent to her before I was united unto her "in her royal palace, and enquired of her concerning "her own wishes, and she sent me an answer with "fair tidings, and spake unto me in her letter, "which was written by her own hand, saying, 'I "myself am well pleased with thee, and I desire "exceedingly to have thee for my husband.' Then "she wrote unto [the satraps in] all her father's "cities, [p. 78] announcing that she had chosen me "for her husband, and that all [people] in her "kingdom were to be [henceforth] subject unto "me, and they replied unto her with fair words, "and were obedient unto her command, and they "became servants unto me. So then straightway "I was united unto her, and I found her to be "that which my heart desired, good and true.[2]

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[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] She also had the reputation of being the most beautiful woman in all Asia (ἣν δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν, Arrian, IV. 19. 4).

"And she bore herself with patience in the matter "of her father's death, and she said [unto me], "'If he had not died at this time he would have "died at some other, and if he had not died by "thy hand he would have perished by that of "someone else'; thus she consoled herself nobly. "If, then, it had not been that I had made war "against other kings, no one of these things would "ever have happened; and, moreover, because I knew "that I must leave her for ever I went forth from "her naked and empty, even as I had gone to her "naked and empty".[1]

Roxana's fatalism.

And it came to pass that when Alexander had finished talking with the Brahmans he saluted them, and rose up and departed from them, and neither[2] he nor any of his soldiers asked anything from them; then he sat down and meditated what

Alexander writes his adventures to Aristotle.

[1] This reference to Alexander's victory over the Persians is peculiar to the Ethiopic version. In the Greek he is made to say that if all men were of one mind the world would be idle, the sea would not be navigated, the earth would not be built upon, no marriages would be contracted, and no children would be born; if some men have suffered by his wars others have benefited. See Müller, p. 101, col. 2.

[2] In the Greek he offers Dandamis money, and clothing, and oil, and wine with his thanks. Dandamis, laughing, said, "These are unnecessary for us, but to shew you that we are not proud, we will accept the oil;" then having made a pile of pieces of wood and set fire to it, he poured the oil upon it in Alexander's sight.

[3] In Müller's Codex A the work of Palladius Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων is introduced, and forms chapters 7—16; see Müller, pp. 102—120.

he should do and where he should go. And he wrote to his master Aristotle the sage to inform whither he had come and to ask him to advise him what to do; now the letter was as follows:—

In the Name of God, the Merciful and Gracious. From Alexander, the servant of God Almighty, to Aristotle, [my] noble master [Greeting]. Now, behold, it hath come to pass that I wish to tell thee concerning that which we have seen and heard[1] in the land of India. Now Yômêda is a great city,[2] and I will relate to thee the wonderful things which we saw therein. When we saw some of the people of this great city, which is on the shore of the sea—now this city is a stronghold on the sea—we called to one of them, and behold he answered in the language of a barbarian. And we saw in the midst of the sea things which appeared to be [p. 79] buildings, and we asked them through an interpreter who was with us, saying, "What, then, are these buildings?" And he made answer, "These are the royal tombs, wherein is laid "up much gold; for when our kings die we bury "them with all the riches which they have gotten "together"; and when I heard this I wished to set out in a boat and to go to these tombs. And I took a ship, and set therein an abundance of

The wonders of India.

Royal tombs.

[1] ዘኀገርናሁ ፡ seems hardly to be the word wanted here; the Gr. has τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἡμῖν . . . . ἐξειπεῖν.

[2] The city alluded to is Prasiake, which Alexander calls the metropolis of India.

food and weapons of war, and I wished to sail therein to that island, but certain of my friends[1] rose up and said, "As God Almighty liveth, we "will not allow thee to go to this island until we "ourselves have first been there and seen what is "therein". And again, one[2] of my councillors rose up and said to me, "O king, send us to this "island, and if there be therein anything which "can alarm thee, we will come and tell thee con-"cerning it; after [we have done] this then thou "canst do as thou pleasest". And it came to pass when he had said this to me that I sat down, and commanded that they should go in the ship; and I placed therein a large supply of weapons for fighting both upon sea and upon land, and I sent with them eight hundred of the nobles of my kingdom.[3] And it came to pass that when they drew nigh unto [the island] they looked, and behold a beast of the monsters of the sea swallowed up the ship and whatsoever was therein. And when I heard this I grieved sorely both for myself and for my councillors, because they were the noblest and best beloved of my men. And I commanded my army to mount their horses, and to gird on their armour, and to ride about and to ravage and lay waste all their country, and

Alexander's soldiers put to sea.

A monster swallows the ship.

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[1] *I. e.*, Philon, Kraterus, and Hephaestion.

[2] *I. e.*, Philon.

[3] Read እምግበይት ፡ መንግሥት ፡ The numbers are peculiar to the Ethiopic version.

they did so; and they made slaughter among the people of India and killed of them men without number. And I remained [there] the whole of my day,[1] [p. 80] so that if any of them appeared I might cut off his head, and I slew the people there until their country stank with the slaughter.

Indian monsters.

And behold, it came to pass a few days after that there came towards us a beast[2] of the monsters of the sea which was like unto a crocodile, but it was bigger than a crocodile, and its appearance was very frightful, and when it came against us we went out to it with weapons of war, and with hunting nets, and with fire, and it made haste to fight with my servants; now our weapons had no effect upon it to injure it whatsoever, and when I saw that I was not able[3] to overcome it I knew that it was Satan. And I rose up from my camp conquered, and the monsters of the sea and the lions of that country wished to destroy us; and when there happened to me along that sea what did happen to me, I laid waste and ravaged that country and all that was therein.[4]

Now when I had consumed everything belonging

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[1] The Greek has Ἐμείναμεν δὲ ἡμέρας ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρο-τηρίῳ.

[2] This must be the *hebdomadarion* beast which could carry elephants on its back; see Müller, p. 121, col 1.

[3] Read ኢክህሎክዎ ፡

[4] The Ethiopic version does not mention the eclipse which Alexander saw in India, nor does it mention Darius.

to that district I marched[1] into the country round about India, and I enquired of my guides concerning these regions, and they told me that the roads therein lay through mountains, and rivers, and marshy places, and that no one could pass through them by reason of the immense numbers of wild beasts which infested them. Now there were with me many possessions which the beasts of burden were unable to carry. And I commanded my army to divide itself into four companies, whereof I appointed one company as a guard in the rear, and [commanded the men thereof] to slay whatever came in their way, and I made the second company to keep watch for the army [by day], and the third company to keep watch by night, and the fourth company to carry the arms. And we marched in this manner for twelve nights,[2] until we arrived at a great city which was situated between two mighty rivers,[3] and when we [first] saw the city, behold, it was at a great distance from us, and we therefore encamped where we were, for we were exhausted; and we made enquiries concerning the city, and behold it was

The army divided into four companies.

A city in mid air.

[1] At the tenth hour the trumpet sounded for the evening meal, after which the soldiers went to bed, at sunrise it again sounded for marching, and they travelled until the fourth hour. The soldiers wore leather boots and gaiters to protect them from the snakes which infested the country.

[2] See Müller, p. 121, col. 2.

[3] τινα πόλιν, ἥτις ἦν μέσῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

supported in mid air.[1] And I went thither with certain men who desired to go, and there was water of the sea (*i. e.*, salt water) there which was [p. 81] more bitter than wormwood—now the people were sages and magicians, and astrologers, and they had with them [the writings] of Aaron the sage, and they had in their hands the book which the mighty man Ḳarôn[3] had written con-

Bitter waters.

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[1] What is meant here is that the houses were built, not upon the ground, but upon the reeds which were said to be four cubits in circumference (πηχῶν δ' περίμετρον ἔχοντες); the Syriac version says that the reeds were thirty cubits high, and that their thickness was equal to the garland which a man puts on his head.

[2] Either Aaron the brother of Moses, or Aaron the Thaumaturge መንክራዊ፡ who flourished about the middle of the XIVth century. He was born at Gambayâ ገምባየ፡ where he lived for some time; he next went to Amḥarâ አምሐራ፡ and Mount Gôl ደብረ፡ ጎል፡ where he became steward of the convent and archdeacon; he was consecrated as priest by the ʾ*abûna* Jacob; and he finally settled at Mount Darêt, where he received the daughter of king Sayafa Arʿâd. See Wright, *Catalogue Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 179.

[3] A famous alchemist; his work is mentioned by Masʿûdî (ed. B. de Meynard) tom. VIII, p. 177. In *Kitâb al Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, pp. ٣٥١, ٣٥٢) it is said that the first writer on alchemy was Hermes, the Sage, who came to Egypt from Babylon after the dispersion of peoples. Others say that alchemy was revealed by God to Moses and Aaron, and that he who wrought in their name was Ḳârûn وقال اخرون كان هذا بوحى من الله الى موس بن عمران والى اخيه هارون وان الذى كان يتولى ذلك لهما قارون. The Arabs have identified Ḳârûn with Korah (see Numbers, chap. XVI) and say that he was the son of Izhar, the uncle of Moses; he was

cerning every kind of worldly learning[1]—and I was exceedingly sorry in my heart that we had no other water.

Now when we had removed ourselves from this place—for we well nigh perished with thirst there[2]—we marched for one day and one night until we came down to a lake which swarmed with moving creatures, and when we had come down and had drunk of the [water of] that lake, behold it was as sweet as honey. And when we had come down we looked and, behold, there was a building upon the shore of the lake, and above the building was a heathen altar upon which was written, "I am "Kôs,[3] the king of the world, the conqueror who "travelled on this lake".

The Greeks nearly die of thirst.

And it came to pass at eventide that I com-

Alexander sleeps in the jungle.

the most beautiful of all the Israelites, and his wealth has passed into a proverb in the East. He built himself a palace overlaid with gold, and the doors were of solid gold; his wealth made him so proud that he raised a sedition against Moses, and he induced a harlot to say that Moses had lain with her and to swear to it publicly. When Moses adjured her to speak the truth the woman confessed Ḳârûn's share in the matter, and God avenged Moses' cause by causing the earth to swallow him up.

[1] There is, of course, no equivalent in the Greek for this sentence.

[2] Their need was so great that Alexander saw στρατιώτας τοῖς ἰδίας οὔροις προσχρωμένους; see Müller, p. 122, col. 1.

[3] For Sesonchosis, Σεσόγχοσις. In the Greek Sesonchosis says that he made this lake for the benefit of those who journeyed by the Red Sea.

manded them to bring to me a golden couch, and I lay down upon it, and I made them light a fire round about it because I was afraid of the snakes, and of the reptiles, and of the scorpions, and of the wild beasts of the earth; and I commanded my soldiers to light a fire round about themselves also. And when the night drew on as I lay upon my couch—now the moon rose that night—behold, huge lions came forth from the jungle round about that lake, the like of which I had never before seen nor imagined, nor could I describe them, to drink water. Out of the sand, too, there sprang scorpions, each of which was a cubit long, and [other] reptiles, and beasts with horns, some red and some white; and they bit my soldiers, and those that were bitten had no power to speak. And I heard a great outcry and wailing among my troops by reason of these snakes and scorpions. And, again, I saw a huge lion of monstrous size the like of which I had never before seen. And, again, I saw a beast [p. 82] with a horn on his nose, and it was larger than an elephant, together with a multitude of lions which I could neither describe nor count. And when I saw this I was greatly grieved for my men, and I rose up and commanded a herald to go round about through the camp and order the men to make ready and to put on their armour to protect them against their foes. And when it was day I commanded that each and every one of them should not fail to carry a load

At moon-rise wild beasts begin to move.

Scorpions a cubit long.

The rhinoceros.

of wood and to set it down in the jungle. And they cut down the trees and piled them up to an exceedingly great height, and I commanded them to set them on fire, and the wild beasts rushed out upon us, and some[1] of them were consumed in the flames and some of them rushed out wildly[2] seeking to escape, and we slew them as they fled.

The jungle is set on fire.

And on the second night, behold, [there came] a beast which was larger than an elephant, and when it drew nigh to the ditch within which we had entrenched ourselves it wished to escape, but it was not able to do so. Now when I saw this, I commanded that herald to go round about through the camp [and to order the soldiers] to put on their armour and to protect themselves that night, and I informed them concerning the beast the like of which I had never seen before; and I commanded them, moreover, to light fires round about them, and that each man should abide in his own place the whole of that night. And when the beast saw the fighting men it lifted itself up and betook itself to flight, but as it was fleeing, by reason of its mighty rage it fell into the ditch within which we had entrenched ourselves; and I commanded thirty of our mighty warriors to rise up against it and to slay it, and they slew[3] that beast.

A monster invades the camp.

It is trapped in a ditch and killed.

[1] Read ወቦ ፡

[2] The word ዘተለብለበ ፡ is written over an erasure, and the reading is uncertain.

[3] Read ወይቀትልዎ ፡

And it came to pass on the morrow when daylight had appeared that I commanded the men to bind the beast,[1] with ropes, and three hundred men dragged it out of the ditch, and cut open its belly, and they found therein great numbers of snakes and scorpions, and fish larger than oxen; and each of its [p. 83] tusks was a cubit in length, and its claws were like unto those of hawks. Now this beast is the most voracious of all the wild beasts of that country. And from the time when God created the heavens, and the earth, and whatsoever is above them, no man ever trod the ground of this country except ourselves.

Three hundred men needed to move it.

The Greeks come to a country of men with birds' faces.

And when we had destroyed the wild beasts which were round about us and that monster which only appeared at night time and never during the day, we rose up and departed from that place, and we arrived at a forest[2] filled with fruit-bearing plants, and trees, and streams, and water courses, and within it were men who could not talk, and their faces were like unto the faces of ravens, and their garments were like goatskin, and they [held] spears in[3] their hands. And when we drew nigh unto them they cast their spears at us, and I commanded my horsemen and they charged

[1] This beast is clearly the ܐܕܘܢܛܘܣ of the Syriac version, and the *odontotyrannus* of the Latin translation: see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 10, and Müller, p. 105, and p. 123, col. 1.

[2] See Müller, p. 86, col. 1.

[3] Read ወበእደዊሆሙ ፡

them, and they captured six thousand[1] of them at once, and they slew three hundred of my men.[2] And it came to pass that as I was going about in that region terror laid hold upon me, and we dwelt in that forest seven days, and we found nothing to eat, except the fruits which were there.

They meet a frightful monster.

And we departed from that place and marched until we arrived at a river, and by the side thereof was a great fountain of water. And behold a huge, monstrous beast of most frightful appearance, having a body like unto that of a wild boar, came out fearlessly against us, and I commanded the horsemen in my camp who were always ready [for battle], and whom none could conquer by any means whatsoever except by the decree[4] of God the most High, to go out against it, and when they went out against the monster it was not at all afraid. And when I saw this I commanded a naked woman to go up to it, so that when it went to seize her[5] we ourselves might come [p. 84] and slay it and deliver the woman from its clutches.

It rends a naked woman.

Now when the monster drew nigh and saw the woman, it rose up against her and slew her, and it began to devour her as we ourselves rose up

[1] In the Syriac six hundred and thirty-three.

[2] In the Syriac one hundred and sixty-seven.

[3] The Greeks encamped here, and the beast came at the ninth hour of the day; see Syriac version, ed. Budge, p. 99.

[4] Read ዘእንበለ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡

[5] The text here is doubtful; for the Syriac see Budge, p. 177, ll. 9, 10.

against it and slew it. And we found in that jungle multitudes of hyaenas, and by reason of the great numbers of wild beasts which came out[1] against us I commanded them to set fire to that jungle also.

And we departed from that place and marched until[2] we came to a certain region[3] where the people thereof threw stones at us and they slew two of our number. And I, by myself, rose up against them, and I slew [some of] them with my own hand[4] by the command of God the most High, and a large number of them were slain, and a large number of them were wounded, and

The cave-dwellers.

those who were left behind went and hid themselves in caves which no man was able to reach, but those which stood up [to fight] we slew. Now they belonged to divers species of animals: some of them had feet like camel's feet,[5] and some of them had hands like the hands of women.

People with lions' faces.

And again we departed from that place and marched until we came to a region where the heads of the people were like unto those of lions, and their ears were large like caverns; and they neither made war nor came out against us.

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[1] Read ወፅኢ ፡ [2] Read እምህየ ፡ ወበጻሕነ ፡ እስከ ፡

[3] In the Syriac (p. 99), the land of the people with twisted feet.

[4] Read በእደውየ ፡ In the Syriac (p. 99), Alexander slays their chief.

[5] In the Syriac (p. 99), "asses' feet".

[6] In the Syriac (p. 178), "scaly tails" ܕܘܢܒ̈ܐ ܕܩܠܦܬܐ.

And we passed on from there and arrived at a region where there was a mighty river,[1] and above the river was a huge tree which increased in height from dawn until mid-day, from which time it diminished in height until it was night, and it disappeared into the depths of the earth until nothing whatsoever of it could be seen. Now the smell of this tree was very sweet, and I commanded them to bring to me some of its fruit and leaves, and behold, certain demons and devils rose up and attacked my men, and they smote them with mighty blows [p. 85] like the lashings of a whip;[2] now the marks of the beating made themselves seen in the limbs [of my men], but those who aimed the blows were invisible. And we heard a voice like thunder which said, "Let "no man cut ought from this tree, neither from "its fruit nor from its leaves, lest[3] ye all perish". And there were large numbers of birds round about that tree which resembled guinea-hens, and I commanded my troops that they should not pluck ought from that tree, nor snare any of the birds. Now there were in that river certain birds[4] which appeared to be of a black colour [while in it], but when they came out from the water they were whiter than hailstones.

The tree which grew and diminished by turns.

The mysterious voice therein.

[1] Compare Müller, p. 88. col. 2.

[2] Read ተበግገበ ፡ [3] Read ወኵሙ ፡

[4] The Syriac has, p. 100, "stones". When they took them out they were white, and when they put them back they became black again.

And we departed from that place, and we marched through a wilderness of jungle in which there were no men, and we travelled on by the side of a lake until we arrived at the shore of the great sea which is called el-Pontos,[1] that is to say, the sea which goeth round the whole world. And I commanded the half of my army to encamp there, while I marched on with the [other] half, and we heard a voice from the sea[2] [speaking] in the Greek language,[3] though we saw no man, but I saw an island which was near unto us in the sea, and I commanded two men to go to it. And when they were arriving there I saw beasts which were like unto men, only they were much larger than men and they resembled camels, and they rushed out of the sea and laid hold upon twenty of my men who had gone into the sea, and then they went [again] into the sea.

Alexander comes to the Ocean.

Sea monsters destroy a number of men.

Now when I saw this we departed from that place,[4] and marched sixty and five nights after which we descended into a certain place.[5] And we saw therein

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[1] See above, p. 2, note 3. [2] Read እምባሕር ፡

[3] በነገረ ፡ ሮማይስጥ ፡ = the Syr. ܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܫܢܐ (p. 79).

[4] In the Syriac (p. 101), Alexander next went to the country of the people who had eyes and a mouth in their breasts, and who fed upon mushrooms, each of which weighed twenty pounds. He next arrived at the country of the phoenix, and then came to a country where wild beasts like unto wild asses lived; a number of these they killed and ate.

[5] In the Syriac (p. 180) called ܐܘܒܪܢܐ.

two large birds—now the bodies of these birds were like unto two towers—and their faces were like unto the faces of men. And one of them spake unto me in the Greek language, and said,[1] "O thou Two-horned, behold, thou hast trodden "[p. 86] a land which before thee no man hath "trodden, but fear not, neither be afraid, for shall "it not be profitable unto thee? But wherefore "wilt thou not turn back? For, behold, thou hast "conquered Darius, the king of the kings of the "world, and, moreover, thou hast vanquished Porus, "the king of India, who was lord over demons "and devils, and who had gained the mastery over "the ends of the world. Now, therefore, turn back "from this place whithersoever thou wishest to go, "for it will be better for thee [so to do]."

A Greek-speaking bird.

Bids Alexander return.

And when I heard these words I accepted the advice, and I turned back and marched to a vast and mighty mountain, than which a larger mountain I had never seen. And, behold, upon this mountain a temple had been built, and the height thereof was one hundred cubits, and when I saw it I marvelled greatly at the building thereof. Then I went round about among these high mountains, and I examined [this] temple which had been built in them, and it shone brightly on all sides like

The temple on the mountain.

[1] In the Syriac one bird says, "O Alexander, thou art treading the land of the gods", and the other, "Alexander, the victory over Darius and the subjection of king Porus are enough for thee".

gold. And I thought that this was Paradise, because I had heard that it was situated among the tops of the highest mountains, and it must have been nigh unto the Paradise wherein [dwell] the saints. And when I saw this I made my army to go down, and there went up with [me] certain of my soldiers whom I loved; and going up we arrived at a very high place, and, behold, there appeared a lovely garden and flowers with a smell more beautiful than that of any other garden which I had ever seen. Now at that place on the door of the temple was a chain of gold,[1] and it was fastened over the door of the temple; and everywhere on the outside of the temple were locks, and no man was able to enter therein, and the sweet odours of musk and [other] scents went forth therefrom. Now the weight of the chain[2] was three hundred pounds according to the shekel of Constantinople. And I marvelled thereat, and I wished to see inside the temple, but I could not arrive therein became I was unprepared to enter into it. Then I prayed [p. 87] and entreated God to open it for me, and I drew nigh unto one of the windows, and I commanded them to open one of its doors that I might enter in with[3] my soldiers[4] to look at the wonders which were therein. Now

A garden like unto Paradise.

[1] In the Syriac (p. 101) the temple is girt about with a chain of gold which weighs three hundred pounds.

[2] Read ለሰንሰለት ፡ [3] Read ምስለ ፡

[4] See Meusel, p. 785.

when I had gone into the temple I saw therein two thousand five hundred steps, and they were built of stones of gold,[1] and inside that place, that is to say, inside the temple, was a large chamber in which was a window of gold. And when I had come therein I found there figures of gold,[2] and they all [stood] in windows (*or* niches). Now there was an altar there made of gold, and in the midst by the altar stood two candlesticks,[3] each one of which was forty cubits high. And upon a couch reclined the form of a man, upon whom was a garment inlaid with gold and precious stones, and upon it, worked in gold, were the branches of a vine, having its bunches of grapes set with jewels. And near the couch was a table of meats, the like of which I never looked upon in this world. Now when I had seen these things I stood at the door of the temple and did not go therein, although I thought to have uncovered the face of the lord of the couch and looked upon it, but I was in fear and trembling at him, and I cried out to God to tell me who that man was. And when I wished to go out from the temple loud and terrible cries were hurled at me, and when these were ended I was called again by a voice [which came] from behind me, saying, "O "king of the two horns, be not bold overmuch,

The golden shrine.

And god clothed in gold.

The god speaks.

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[1] In the Syriac, sapphire.

[2] *I. e.,* figures of Pan and the Satyrs.

[3] These also were made of sapphire.

"and do not imagine that the knowledge of "everything shall be given unto thee. Seek not to "pry into the mysteries of God the Eternal." Now the lord of the couch was Enoch.[1] "It is I[2] who "have commanded that I should speak with thee "when thou shouldst come into this place concerning "the things which shall befall thee; now as for thee, "thou art the conqueror,[3] [p. 88] and nothing shall "do thee harm." Now when I had heard these things I rejoiced, and I cried out to God Almighty and entreated Him to watch over me and to help me,[4] and again I offered up sacrifice. And it was told to me, saying, "Thy guides, who come from "the land of India, are not[5] acquainted with the "paths and roads of this country, and they can "neither make thee to ascend above the air nor "above the lofty mountains to the place where "existeth Paradise, which is the Country of the "Living, nor to the abode where the saints dwell. "Now those who live there are Enoch, and Elijah, "and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, "and those who are like unto them; and, behold, "they shine above many mountains, of which, however, "God hath revealed unto thee but very little." And when he had told me these things I com-

Alexander prays to God.

The slaughter of the guides.

[1] His identification is, of course, due to the Ethiopian translator: the god was Dionysos.

[2] Read ወአንሰ ፡ [3] Read መዋኢ ፡ አንተ ፡

[4] In the Greek Alexander wishes to carry away the candlesticks which stood by the couch.

[5] Read ኢመርሁከ ፡

manded them to cut off[1] the heads of those guides, who were fifty in number, and I took others [in their place].

And when we had descended from those mountains we directed our course to the country of Persia[2], and travelling along by that sea[3] we arrived at a beautiful and rich country, wherein trees and green herbs abounded. And when we had encamped there for a few days, God Almighty sent upon us a mighty storm of wind, which swept away our clothing and our tents, and this wind carried away our animals, and carried away the horse and his rider, and hurled them into the water whither man cannot say. And none of our men were left, except those who had cast themselves down upon the ground, and some whom we had fastened down with chains. Then I commanded my men not to take heed unto my safety but to fasten on their garments and [to pitch] their tents [again], but as they were driving in and making firm their tent pegs in the ground, [p. 89] and were tethering their beasts with chains of iron, there came forth a dense and black cloud with mighty lightnings and thunders [therein], and it covered us over until no man could see his hand.

Returns to Persia.

The whirlwind.

The lightning cloud.

[1] Read ይምትሩ፡

[2] We should read Prasiake. The Greek has ἤλθομεν εἰς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ὁδὸν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Πρασιακὴν γῆν; see Müller, p. 122, col. 2.

[3] We should probably read በሐር፡ "region".

And we saw in the cloud a blazing fire, and there came out therefrom, moreover, a cloud of fire which passed on into the dense black cloud, and when it drew nigh unto it the whole of both of them burst into a mass of blazing fire. And it remained thus for three whole days and three whole nights; the nights were as the days, and the days were as the nights. Neither sun nor moon appeared, and during the whole time snow and hail fell upon us heavily, and many of my friends died. And on the fourth day we wished to set out on our journey, but the snow which had fallen on the mountains prevented us, and we remained in our camp for thirty nights; now this took place in the winter season.

A three days' blackness.

The Greeks detained by snow.

And we departed from there, and marched for five days and arrived[1] at a region of inhabited lands and cities, which was situated in India, and [the people] submitted to me and gave me tribute. And they came forth to me together with their nobles, and said unto me, "O noble man, behold, "thou hast travelled through multitudes of countries "and cities, and thou hast seen mountains and "places which no man besides thyself hath ever "seen, and over which no other king hath ever ruled. "Now beyond this country there is none other, "and there is nothing whatsoever beyond except "the flowers which the wind beareth from Paradise

Certain Indians pay tribute.

[1] Gr. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας έ ἐκυριεύσαμεν τῆς Πρασιακῆς πόλεως, see Müller, p. 122, col. 2.

"and casteth in that region. And when the rain "falleth upon it plants shoot up and burst into "blossom, and there cometh an odour of flowers "which is more beautiful than anything else, and "it is like unto aloes, and ambergris, and camphor— "now all kinds of beautiful trees are found in "India because it is situated on the borders of "Paradise—and the water of the streams which "flow there is as clear as crystal. And, moreover, "in the [p. 90] wilderness here is the abode of the "fiends and devils, for the Devil, with his wiles "and crafts, fell from heaven into that place, and "there they abide. And as for us, we will gather "together [for thee] from our whole country the "things which thou seekest, and do thou command "us [to do] that which thou pleasest, for we will "turn away neither from thy word nor from thy "command."

A country of flowers and sweet scent.

Then I answered and said unto them, "If there "be anything in your country which is marvellous, "bring me to see it, for I desire nothing more "than this, and I will deal graciously with you." And one of their[1] nobles said to me, "In this "country we have two trees which can talk in all "languages;" and I meditated within myself and said, "This is something exceedingly marvellous." And I commanded that they should beat that man with many stripes, in order that I might know the truth of his words and if they were to be believed,

The talking trees.

[1] Read እምኔሆሙ ፡

and when I had made him to suffer pain by the beating he said unto me, "O king, beat me not, "for I do not deserve to be beaten, and stripes "can make my words no better." Then straightway I believed his words, and I had compassion upon him. And I rose up with that man, and after we had marched for ten[1] days we arrived in a place beyond which was nothing except the flower which cometh forth from Paradise; now this place is beneath the earth, and here is the abode of fiends and devils, and whosoever goeth therein they destroy. And there was none of our men who passed from us into that place that did not die. Then they went into a garden wherein there was musk, and wherein man could not enter except by the door thereof, by reason of the thickness of the trees which were therein. In the midst of that garden were figures of the sun and moon, and in it were two large hedges between which was a temple which was called "[The temple of] the sunrise and moonrise," for here the sun and the moon do rise, and inside the temple [p. 91] [enclosure] were two most beautiful trees,[2] like unto which no others exist. Now it was told me that one of them was a male and the other a female; the male was the sun, and the female was the moon.[3] Beneath them were strewn

The trees of the Sun and Moon.

[1] In the Syriac (p. 104), fifteen days.

[2] The whole subject of the talking trees is discussed by Yule, *Ser Marco Polo* (2nd edit.), tom. I. p. 134 ff.

[3] The Greek adds that the male tree was called Helios, and the female Selene, and that in native speech they

skins of lions, but I saw here no [vessel of] iron, or of stone, or of brass, or of earthenware. And again I asked them, saying,[1] "Do both these trees "speak at once, or hath each tree its own time "for speech?" And they told me that the tree of the sun speaketh at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset, each day three times, and that the tree of the moon speaketh before the hour of night,[2] at midnight, and at the time of dawn. Then he who had charge over the sanctuary said to me, "O king, enter in to these trees," and I commanded one hundred of my friends to come in with me armed. And he who was over the sanctuary said to me, "It is not meet for thee to enter into "the sanctuary with iron." Then I commanded the chief horsemen of my army to go round about outside the garden and outside the temple, and to keep guard upon me, for I was afraid lest they should plot evil against me; then I went in with fifty[3] of my friends who were without armour.

The sun-tree speaks in the day-time and the moon-tree in the night time.

Alexander sets a guard about the temple.

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were called Muthu and Emausai, Ὄνομα δὲ τοῦ ἀρρενικοῦ ἦν ἥλιος, τῆς δὲ θηλείας σελήνη, ἃ ἔλεγον τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ μονθοῦ ἐμαοῦσαι; see Müller, p. 123, col. 2. The Syriac has preserved these names under the forms ܡܝܛܘܪܐ Mîṭôrâ and ܡܐܝܘܣܐ Mâyôsâ (p. 186, ll. 6, 7, and p. 104.)

[1] Read ወአሐ፡ [2] *I. e.*, at eventide.

[3] The Greek says *eleven* men went with him, but gives only the names of eight—Parmenion, Kraterus, Iollas, Machetes, Thrasyleon, Theodektes, Diiphilus, and Neokles; see Müller, p. 123, col. 2. The Syriac version mentions *twelve*, but only gives nine names.

He goes in. And I cried out to one of the men who watched in the sanctuary when the tree spoke at the time of sunset, and I said to him, "Tell me [what it "said], and lie not unto me, for I swear by God "Almighty,[1] that if thou deceivest me I will cut "off thy head." Now he wished to hide what it said from me, but I took hold of his hand and I led him away by himself, and I sware unto him [that I would kill him]. And he drew nigh to me and called unto one of my servants, and spake unto him, "The tree saith that he is like "unto a king [p. 92] whom one shall slay;" and I said, "God Almighty knoweth." And I went to the tree a second time at midday, and, behold, the tree spake in the Greek language that I might understand [its] words, and it said unto me, "Behold,

His death foretold. "thou shalt die in the land of Babylon," which words I heard together with my servants. Then was I struck with wonder[2] at its words, and I was pained and grieved with an exceedingly great grief, and my heart beat wildly, and the shadow of slumber forsook my eyes during the whole night. Now when my friends and servants saw my sorrow and that I was troubled because of this thing, they said unto me, "O king, if thou couldst but "sleep only a very little thou wouldst be better."

And in the morning I commanded my servants

[1] The Greek has, "by Zeus, and by Ammon, and by Athene, and by all the gods who give victory".

[2] The scribe originally wrote ወእንከርኩኒ ፡

to come forth from that sanctuary and not to depart far away from me, and I went and drew nigh unto the [other] tree, and I said to it, "Tell "me, have the days of my life drawn nigh to the "end? Shall I be able to return to Macedonia, "my native land, before I die?" And when the sun had risen above the tree I heard a mighty voice [speaking] in the Greek language, and saying, "Thy days are counted, and only a few of them "remain unto thee. And as for thy country thou "shalt nevermore reach it; thou shalt die in the "land of Babylon, and thy servants shall kill thee "by poison. Thy mother, too, shall her friends "kill by poison; now enquire not of me further "concerning this matter, for besides this I will "never tell thee anything."

He is to die soon at Babylon.

Then I came forth with my friends, and we departed from that place, and we travelled on our way for one day, and I took counsel with my friends concerning the road which we should go, and they gave me advice thereupon. And we marched fifteen nights[1] until we arrived at a city called Sapîn,[2] and the people thereof opened the gates to us, and received us graciously, and they

[1] In the Greek Alexander journeys from Prasiake to Persia, ἀπὸ τῆς Πρασιακῆς παρεγενόμην εἰς Περσίδα (Müller, p. 125, col. 2), and in the Syriac he comes to Prasiake.

[2] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's edition. What follows appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS. The narrative continues in the first person, as if this were still part of the epistle.

gave us gifts and tribute. And the raiment of these people was made of the skins [p. 93] of fish—now the fish[1] were larger by far than buffaloes—and they brought out to us from the sea, all kinds of wonderful things[2] which were very beautiful in appearance, and each of them was equally wonderful.

People dressed in fish skins.

And we departed from that place, and marching on we arrived at a vast and mighty mountain, and those who dwelt therein said unto us, "O "king, thou art not able to march through this "mountain, for in it there [dwelleth] a mighty god "who is like unto a monster serpent, and he "preventeth every one who would go unto him." And I said unto them, "Where is this being who "ye say is your god?" And it was told me that he [lived] in the mountain by the river, above which was a dense forest, at a distance of about three days' journey. And I said unto them, "Doth he "appear unto you in the form of a man?" and they said "Nay, but the sound of his voice re-"straineth whosoever would journey to him, and "he devoureth buffaloes." And I said, "How know "ye those things, and that he is in this wise, "since ye are not able to come unto him?" And

Alexander's way stopped by a demon.

[1] The teeth in the skins varied from one to three cubits in length, the gills were each six cubits long, and each fish weighed one hundred pounds; see the Syriac version, p. 107.

[2] *I. e.*, shells each of which held fifty cups of water, fifty purple sponges, and fifty white sponges; see the Syriac version, p. 107.

they said, "We know that he devoureth multi-"tudes of buffaloes which come to the river, and "these in addition to the two oxen which we send "to him each day that he may not lay waste our "country,[1] for he devoureth everything which "travelleth by the river." And I said, "Where "do they bring the two oxen to him, that he "may eat them?" And they said unto me, "O "king, two of our men are appointed for this "work, and they rise up early in the morning and "set the two oxen in their place for him before "he cometh forth from his dwelling, and they "leave them on the bank of the river; then they "return and ascend that high mountain. And when "the god goeth forth from his dwelling to [p. 94] "the river, he findeth the two oxen and devoureth "them." And I said unto them, "Doth he do thus "in one place or everywhere?" Now I asked this question concerning him because he was [held by] the people of the whole country at that time to be a devil, whom they worshipped, and [they thought that] he fought for them and for their country. The description of him.

Then I asked them to lead me to the place wherein the god lived, and I took guides with me, and I went to him. And when we arrived at his dwelling-place I commanded the people of the city to bring out to me two oxen, and I set them where they were wont to set the oxen for Alexander sets out to visit him.

[1] Read ምድረነ ፡

him from olden time; then I commanded my army to stand round about on the mountain. Now, when the god went forth from his place, I watched him, and behold he was a mighty beast like unto the darkness of a cloud, and a flame of fire went forth from his mouth; and when he had drawn nigh to the two oxen he devoured them. And I watched the whole of his doings. And on the morrow I commanded them not to set the cattle for him, so that he might become hungry, and on the third day, when hunger waxed strong in him, he came out against us. And when he drew nigh to us I commanded my army, and they cried out at him with mighty cries, and they beat the drums, and they blew blasts on the horns, and they made a great noise; now when the god heard the noise he was terrified and turned back to his place. Thereupon I commanded the people of the city to bring out to me two huge buffaloes, and I slew them and stripped off their skins. And I commanded them to fill their skins with pitch, and with sulphur, and with deadly poison, and with iron hooks, and to carry them to the place where they were wont to bring [the oxen] to him. Now when the beast went forth from the forest to the river, it found the skins which had been filled and it devoured them [p. 95] as it had been accustomed to do. And after it had devoured them, and the poison had entered into its paunch, it wanted to vomit, but the iron hooks which I had fastened in the skins stuck in its throat; and

Alexander's stratagem.

The demon dies.

it fell down and dug its fore and hind claws into the ground, and every tree which came in its way it plucked up by the roots with its tail, by reason of the fierceness of the fire which burned inside it. Now when I saw this I ordered them to kindle a fire with brazen bellows, and I cast heated stones into its mouth; and when the fire reached the poison, and sulphur, and pitch which were in its paunch, it died a terrible death;[1] and every one who saw it marvelled. Now this beast had been a dwelling-place for fiends and devils, and it had laid waste all the district round about.

Further tribute paid to Alexander.

Then we departed from that place, and marched on until we arrived at a region in which was a very lofty mountain, and below the mountain was a mighty river;[2] and the people of the country gathered together to me, and they gave me gifts, and became subject unto me. And they spake unto me, saying, "O king, draw not nigh unto "this mountain, neither march thou thereon, because "there are mighty gods therein." But I went and drew nigh unto it, and behold the stone thereof was of crystal,[3] and it shone brightly like silver,

[1] The Syriac has (p. 108), "I ordered a smith's bellows to "be brought and balls of brass to be heated in the fire and "to be thrown into the beast's mouth; and when they had "thrown fire-balls into the mouth, the beast shut its mouth, "and died."

[2] In the Syriac version (p. 193, l. 13) its name is given as Barsâṭîs ܒܪܣܛܝܣ

[3] In the Syriac "sapphire."

and there were in the mountain many springs and pools, and fountains. And the men of the mountain spake again, saying, "O king, march not into "this mountain, for fiends and devils take shape "therein, and they will destroy and slay the soldiers "of all those who approach them." Now when they had said this to me I cried out to God Almighty [and asked Him] to preserve me from the attacks of those fiends and devils, and to keep them from gaining the mastery over me. And I heard a voice which I recognized [speaking unto me] in the Greek language from the mountain, saying, "O thou Two-horned one, turn thou back, "and do not go forward [**p. 96**], for beyond this "mountain are nations of men which no nation hath "been able to hold in check, and none has been "able to humble them in their own country, and "none has returned having conquered them." And I said, "O my lord,[1] if thou commandest me "to go to them, tell me in a dream what shall "befall me at their hands, and whether if I go "thither by myself I shall see them." And it was told to me in a dream, saying, "Go to them by "thyself, and let none but a few of thy guides be "with thee. Fight thou not with them, for they "shall submit to thee[2] without strife. And, behold, "thou shalt see there a mighty king, and hosts of "men, and mighty men of war, and exceedingly "strong men, the like of which thou hast never

He is warned not to advance farther.

Unconquered nations.

Alexander sees a dream.

[1] Read **እምላኪዬ ፡**   [2] Read **ይትኤዘዙ ፡**

"seen among warriors under arms." Now when this had been said to me I commanded my soldiers to tarry here, and I ordered that they should receive food and armour. Then I commanded the builders to build a mighty city for me here, and to ornament it with [scenes of] each and all the wonderful things [which I had seen], that there might be therein a memorial of myself in the days that were to come. And I built for myself therein a house [having] a large chamber wherein I could pray and live by myself,[1] and I placed therein representations of all the wonderful things according as I had seen them in my travels. And I called the city a second "Masḳâmâ," that is to say, "Alexandria".[2] Then I commanded my army to dwell therein until I returned to them, if it pleased God, the most High, that I should return. Now the names of these two cities are identical because the places whereon they are built are similar; one was built on the place where the earth has come to an end, and the other on the confines of the earth.[3]

He builds a city.

His house of prayer.

And when I had finished the building [p. 97] of the city I set up over the gate thereof a large

The city finished.

[1] Read ወሉብሕትውናትየ ፡

[2] In the Syriac (p. 109) a brazen statue is set up on the city, and the city itself is called "Alexandria, the queen of the mountains."

[3] *I. e.*, Alexandria the Great was built at the end of a tongue of land, and Alexandria, the queen of the mountains, was built on the place where the earth came to an end.

pillar from [the top of] which the Ocean[1] could be seen, and from which also could be descried the countries of those mighty nations.

And I came on with twenty horsemen, and we marched until we arrived at the country of Ḳas-

Alexander's farther travels.

mâḳâtîm,[2] and we encamped therein for three days; then we marched from it for fifteen nights,[3] passing through a region which was full of streams and watercourses, and we travelled through it.

And we departed from this place and marched again for fifteen nights, and we passed through caves which were beneath the mountains; now that road had not before been trodden[4] by any

He comes to China.

other man. And we marched from that place and arrived in the country of China; now that country is called "Nâas".[5]

He disguises himself.

And I drew nigh unto one of my friends, and I commanded that they should not call me Alexander, and I made out myself to be a messenger of Alexander, the king of Greece. Now when I arrived at the gate of the city the people thereof marvelled at me, and said unto me, "Whence "hast thou come, and whither wouldst thou go in "this our country?" and they wished to lead me before their king. And when I had arrived at

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1 Read ባሕር፡ እልጸንጦስ፡

2 In the Syriac Ḳâtôn ܩܐܛܘܢ

3 In the Syriac "ten days". 4 Read ዘኢኬዳ፡

5 There seems to be a mistake here, for the Syriac says that Alexander called himself Pithâôs (Πύθιος?).

And goes as an ambassador to the king of China.

the gate of the king of China a captain[1] went in and spake to the king, saying, "O king, behold "there is an ambassador of the king of Greece "at the gate." And the king said to the captain, "Enquire diligently from him what he wisheth, and "why he hath come hither." Then the captain went out to him, and said unto him, "O am-"bassador, why hast thou come, and what dost "thou desire?" And I said unto him, "Thou art "a servant, and thy master who hath set thee in "his gate will be enraged at thy desiring to know "the secret things which appertain unto kings before "he himself knoweth them; I am sent unto the king "of China, and not unto thee." Then he went in and told these words to his master. And the king of China commanded that they should spread out costly stuffs upon a couch, and the couch was made [p. 98] of gold ornamented with jewels and inlaid with a design in gold; and he sat in his hall, and his princes[2] and nobles were round about him, and when he spake they made answer[3] unto him and spake submissively. Then he commanded the captain to bring in Alexander the ambassador. Now when I had come in with the captain he made me to stand before the king, and the men stood up dressed in raiment of gold and silver; and I stood [there] a long time and none spake unto me. Then the captain came to

His reception.

[1] In the Syriac his name is Gundâphâr.

[2] Read ወመኳንንቲሁ ፡ [3] Read ያወስእዎ ፡

me and spake unto me haughtily, saying, "To "whom hast thou come? Who hath sent thee? "What dost thou need? Tell me, that thou mayest "not die." And I spake unto the captain, saying, "Thou art a servant, as I have already told thee. "I was not sent unto thee, but unto the king, and "it is not meet that a captain should know things "before the king. I will not declare my embassy "to any but him, and to him alone." Now when he had seen and heard these things from me, he commanded me to speak unto the king of China; and the king made me to sit by his side upon the couch. And he said unto me, "Who art thou? "Who hath sent thee? And what dost thou want?" And I said, "I am an ambassador of the Two-"horned one, the king of the Greeks." Then he said unto me, "Who is this Two-horned one?" And I said unto him, "He is a Macedonian. He is the "king of the earth, and he is a man (*or* servant) "of God, and he is the prince of all the armies "of the earth." Then he said unto me, "Where "is this country of Macedonia?" And I said unto him, "It is away to the west, and is nigh unto "the place where the sun setteth." And he said unto me, "Where hast thou left this Two-horned "one?" And I said, "He is near and is not far "from the borders of[1] thy country." And he said unto me, "Why hath he sent thee to me, and "what dost thou desire?" And I said, "The glorious

His conversation with the king.

[1] Read እምእድያመ ፡

"God[1] hath bestowed upon him dominion over "all the kings of the world, and whosoever will "not submit unto him willingly must do so by "[p. 99] force, and he hath sent me to bring thee "to him, for God hath made him to be governor "of [all] the inhabitants of the world. Whosoever "hearkeneth unto him, and submitteth unto him, to "him will he act graciously and strengthen him in "his kingdom, but whosoever will not submit him "will he destroy, and he will lay waste his land, "and he will wipe out his cities, and he will make "his people to be servants in his house. But, if "one hath not made thee acquainted with these "things, ask and learn concerning Darius, the king "of Persia, if there was ever in the world a king "who was greater than he, or who had more "power, or who was richer, or who had more "arms or a larger army. Yet when he acted "wickedly God Almighty ordered what [the Two-"horned one] did unto him, and he slew him, and "set aside his kingdom, and laid waste his country. "And again as concerning the mighty Porus, the "king of India, unto whom had been given wealth, "and honour, and arms, and horsemen, and footmen, "when he acted wickedly and would not submit "to him, and was obstinate before him, God cast "him down and destroyed his country. Now when "my master heard tell of thy kingdom, he wished "to send an army against thee, and to lay waste

Alexander proclaims his victories.

Defeat of Porus.

[1] Read እግዚአብሔር ፡

"thy country, and to destroy thy cities. But he "heard that thou wert a wise and an under-"standing man, and he hath sent me unto thee, "while he himself hath encamped on the borders "of thy territory, saying, 'Go and bring [him] to "me, for, according to what hath been told to "me, he is a wise man. If he hearkeneth and "becometh subject [unto me], leave him [to rule] "over his kingdom; but if he acteth wickedly, and "sheweth himself obstinate, I myself will come to-"gether with my army, and I will do battle with him.'"

The king of China's answer.

Now when he had heard these words from me, he spake, saying, "O Metyâôs,[1] [return] to thy "master, and tell him [this my] answer to thy "message to us:—I have heard[2] concerning[3] what "hath been given unto thee by God Almighty, "and how [p. 100] sovereignty hath been given "unto thee in the world, and victory over Darius, "the king of Persia, and over Porus, the king of "India. Now although [divers] nations have sub-"mitted unto thee and thou hast conquered kings, "thou must know that this hath not happened "because God Almighty hath magnified thee, but

Victory is from God.

"[by reason of His] vengeance and wrath hath

[1] In the Syriac (p. 111) Pithaos. [2] Read ወሰማዕኩ፡

[3] In the Syriac the king of China orders Alexander to make merry with him as is the custom of ambassadors on the day of their arrival, and he promises to give him his answer on the morrow. In the morning, when it was still dark, Alexander is brought in before the king, who suspects that the man before him is none other than Alexander.

"He sent thee to do what He desired. And, "moreover, victory hath been given unto thee "over them because their days had come to an "end, and because the period of their existence "had been brought to a close; for this reason He "willed to destroy them out of the world. And "fate hath exalted thee and hath abased them, "because God Almighty hath given unto thee "what He hath never given unto any who were "before thee, or shall give unto any who "shall come after thee. Now, do thou thyself "consider and know these things, and let not thy "position in this world lead thee astray, for fortune is "a fickle thing. And it hath, moreover, destroyed "those who were before thee; and it will come "upon thee, in thy turn, although thou hast been "master of it; and do not thou put confidence in "it, for it will depart from thee [to go] to another "man, and thou wilt pass away naked. Further, "it will destroy thee thyself, together with those "nations whose days have passed and whose time "is ended. Thou imaginest that it is by thy "mighty men of war and by thy strength that "thou hast conquered them, but it is God Almighty "who hath sent thee against them as a mark of "punishment for their sins. Now as concerning "thy message that I should come to thee, behold, "thy ambassador and servant hath delivered it "unto me, but be not angry with me because I "do not come unto thee in the flesh, for my speech "cometh unto thee as befitteth thy command, and

Alexander's mission is divine.

The king submits.

"I hearken and submit myself unto God and unto "thee. Now do not come to our country and do "not make war with us, for we will give unto "thee service and tribute; moreover, we have "never surrendered to our foes, no man hath ever "vanquished us, and we have never been subject "unto any; and this I say because there existeth "none who is able to meet us in battle. And as "concerning thy desire [p. 101] to come to us, "behold, if our days have passed, and our time "is ended, thou wilt do unto us even as thou hast "done to Darius, the king of Persia, and to Porus, "the king of India, but we should choose death "rather than life if we were to become men who "were disgraced in our own country. Know, "however, that if thy days and thy time have "drawn to an end thou thyself wilt die by our hands. "Now this world is fleeting, and it abideth not "long for any, especially for us who are the children "of men. Yet we weary ourselves everywhere "in the world, and our transgressions, and the "slaughter of our neighbour committed by us for "the sake of the goods of this world, are manifold, "and [finally] we must leave them [all] against our "will, and no one thing remaineth [unto us], except the victory wherewith God Almighty, the "conqueror, hath made us victors. And since we "leave that which we have gathered together to "others, we give up the world to men".[1] And thus

The Chinese invincible.

The vanity of all things.

[1] The Ethiopic text contains no mention of the cloak which

he ended his message. And he gave gifts to Mâtyââs[1] the ambassador, and he said unto him, "Go to Alexander and salute him fervently with "many salutations, and say unto him, 'Thy servant "enquireth concerning thee and concerning thy "well-being. And behold I send unto thee gifts "for thine acceptance.'" And he sent unto him the crown which was upon his head, saying, "It befitteth thee more than me." And he sent unto him garments of finely woven stuff, one hundred pounds in weight, according to the pound of Constantinople; and, again, he sent him two hundred tents, and men-servants and maid-servants; and two hundred shields of elephant hide; and two hundred Indian swords mounted in gold and ornamented with gold and precious stones of great value; and two hundred horses suitable for [the use of] kings; and seven thousand pieces of ......; and one thousand loads of the finest gold and silver, for in this country are situated the mountains wherefrom they dig gold. Now the wall of that city is built of gold ore and likewise the habitations of the people, and from this place [p. 102] Solomon, the son of David, brought the gold with which he built the sanctuary, and he made the vessels

Gifts to Alexander from the king of China.

the king of China had made to fit Alexander, and which he sent to him by the ambassador as representing the size of the piece of ground which alone would finally be his, although he had been the conqueror of the world; see the Syriac version, p. 112.

[1] Read ለማትያአስ ፡

and the shields of the gold of the land of China.[1] And again the king of China brought for Alexander one hundred shrines (?) of gold, upon [the backs of] wild asses; and five hundred men-servants and maid-servants, the like of which existed not —and glory be to God Who created them!—and one thousand iron swords and helmets;[2] and twenty snakes' horns, each of which was a cubit long.[3] Each and all of these things of his possessions did he send away after me borne on camels, and afterwards I wished heartily that I had left him without any of them, but I was afraid [to give them back] lest he should discover who I was, and lest he should seize me, and do unto me according to his desire. Now, although I took all these things against my will, I said unto the bearers of them, "In God's sight all these things "are as nothing at all."

Alexander continues his travels.

After these things I returned to my soldiers and commanded them to march from that place, and I left behind in that palace which I had begun to build of cedar[4] wood, and which they were ornamenting with precious stones, certain of my

[1] This seems to be an addition made by the Ethiopian translator, and the Syriac has no equivalent for the passage.

[2] Literally, "places for the head."

[3] In the Syriac (p. 112) the gifts are—1000 talents, 10,000 pieces of undyed silks, 5000 brocaded silks, 200 cane figures, 100 painted (?) skins, 1000 Indian swords, 5 wild horses, 1000 skins of musk, 10 snakes' horns.

[4] Read ቀድሮስ ፡

friends that they might finish the building thereof, and so make a memorial of me [which should endure] until God shall inherit the earth and all that there is upon it. Now I had already founded one city in the land of Egypt, and I had called it "Alexandria the Great", and this smaller city I called "Alexandria the Less".[1]

Then we turned away from the mountains, and we departed and marched through a desert country and through hollows and ravines for fifteen[2] nights, and we found in that region flocks of goats which had heads like unto the heads of wolves. And we also found there flocks of animals, and we took from their thighs bags of musk. And it came to pass that as we were marching through that desert land, behold, we came to [a company of] [p. 103] naked men in whose hearts there existed no mercy, and they gnashed their teeth at us: now they devour their prey like wild beasts. And I was afraid of them, and horror of them came into my heart, for, behold, they had arms in abundance, and they made ready to do battle with us, and when we drew nigh unto them they came out to make war against us; and when I had seen this I cried out against them whilst my soldiers formed themselves round about[3] me. Then my soldiers charged into them and they were defeated by them, and God Almighty prevented them from

Musk animals.

A naked tribe makes war upon Alexander.

[1] The Syriac has no equivalent for this passage.

[2] In the Syriac "twelve days" [3] Read የእውዱ ።

Their chief slain and captives made. doing any harm unto me, and He slew their chief by my hand. Now behold, when they saw that their leader was slain they left off fighting,[1] and they had slain some of us and we had slain certain of them. And I myself went with our horsemen to capture spoil from them, and we left alive neither small nor great among them, but we slew them [all] with the edge of the sword. And we came to their houses and found there their wives and children, and I commanded that their young men and maidens[2] should be taken captive, and that the remainder should be slain with the edge of the sword, and I burnt their habitations with fire. Now there were among them some fine and beautiful women, and these I apportioned to my friends for handmaids, but we found among them neither goods nor possessions.[3]

And we departed from our camp in that place, and we marched to a country called Ṣârâ,[4] and when we had descended into it there came forth **The people of Sârâ submit to him.** men who submitted[5] unto us, and they brought to us offerings and gifts, and they gave us servants and swords, and we accepted these things from them. Then I ordered them to build for me in that country a place wherein I might

[1] Read ተዓቅፁ፡ [2] Read ወደናግሊሆሙ፡

[3] In the Syriac version (p. 113) nothing is said of these women.

[4] In the Syriac version Ṣĕbâzâz, ܨܒܙܙ (p. 201, l. 17).

[5] Read ወተአዘዙ፡

pray[1] and offer thanks unto God, the most High, for all the benefits which He had done unto me, and for His Grace and mercy, [p. 104] and I ornamented that place with gold, and with gems, and with precious stones of great price.

Then we departed from this place and went down into a country which is called Ṣĕ'îdâ (Sogd),[2] and the country was vast, and spacious, and thickly populated;[3] and it was told me that a river ran through it from the west, and that its stream was very great, and that no man whatsoever was able to cross over it, and that no man had ever done so. And I cried out to the glorious God[4] and entreated Him to have mercy upon me, and I asked Him that I might pass over the river with my army and suffer no injury; and I vowed in my heart to found a city on it and to build a shrine therein, where I might return thanks to God if He should help me to cross over it. Now when the people of the city had heard the rumour of us certain of them gathered together and besought me to come unto them.[5] And having

He comes to Sogd.

A mighty river.

[1] In the Syriac version (p. 113), Alexander orders the priests to offer up sacrifice, and he tarries in the land ten days.

[2] That is, the Sughd of Samarḳand الصُّغْد; see Yâḳût, tom. iii. p. ٣٩٤

[3] Read ውብዙኃን ፡ ሰብእ ፡

[4] In the Syriac he cries out to the gods of Macedonia and to Ammon of Lybia.

[5] Exactly the opposite in the Syriac, for they ask him *not* to come.

enquired of them concerning the limits of their country, and how they had come [hither], they spake unto me, saying, "Swear unto us by the "most High and blessed God that thou wilt not "slay us, and we will shew thee our country;" and I sware unto them. Then I commanded the men to be separated each from the other—now they were eight in number[1]—and I made enquiries of each man separately, and when they were all compared together they agreed. So I went forth with my horsemen, and when we drew nigh to the city I sent the ambassadors with Ḳuedâmĕs,[2] my servant, who had with him fifty horsemen, and I commanded them to march on until they reached the city. And when we arrived I com-

Alexander burns a city.

manded them to sound the horn round about the whole city, and then I ordered the men to bring wood and to set fire to it, and to watch until the day broke, and that if any one[3] of its people tried to escape they should slay him. Now when the people of the city heard the sound of the horn [p. 105] they went forth and fled. And the elders and the nobles of the city came forth to me, and cried out to me, saying,[4] "O victorious king, have "mercy upon us, and put away slaughter from us, "for we are thy servants, and we agree to do

[1] Read ኍልቆሙኒ ፡

[2] In the Syriac Ḳôḳarôs ܩܘܩܪܘܣ (p. 203. l. 6).

[3] Read ወጽአ ፡ ፩ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡

[4] Read ወይቤሉኒ ፡

"whatsoever thou wishest." And when they had spoken these words I commanded my soldiers to bind them with links of iron, and I brought them forth to [my] victorious soldiers. And when they all had submitted unto me I commanded them to build me a city which I named Samarḳand.[1] And I built therein a place for prayer,[2] and I ornamented it with red gold, and established men in it [to keep it], and I settled in the city certain of my friends that they might render unto me service and tribute.

The people submit to him.

Samarcand built.

Then I bestowed gifts upon my soldiers, and I set out with the nobles of the city to go down to the river that I might see how it might be passed over. And when I had seen the great size of the river[3] and the strength of its power, I ordered the men of the city to bring out to me wood, and all the artisans and carpenters which were in all their city, and they built five hundred boats like unto the ark of Noah—now I myself had seen

Alexander builds a bridge.

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[1] Read ሠምርቀንድ ፡ *i. e.*, سَمَرْقَنْدُ In Yâḳût, tom. iii. p. ١٣٣, it is described as a well known and famous city, and the tradition that it was built by Alexander is also mentioned بلد معروف مشهور قيل انه من ابنية ذى القرنين

[2] In the Syriac Alexander builds a temple to the goddess Rhea, whom they call Nânî; see p. 115.

[3] In the Syriac (p. 204, l. 14) the river is called Barṭêsîṭôs ܒܪܛܣܝܛܘܣ, and its name is explained to mean 'crystal' ܒܗܪܘܙ *i. e.*, بِهْرُوز

the ark of Noah[1] on the island[2] where it lay—and I made [my boats] like unto it.[3] Then I commanded them to make very thick ropes, and men rowed over [with them] in boats and crossed over to the other side of the river. And I ordered them to build there a great tower, and upon it [to set up] a large pillar, from [the top of which] a view over the whole river could be obtained. And I ordered[4] them to tie the boats together, each to the other, and they made means of passage from one to the other; and when [all of them] were very firm I gave the order,[5] and my troops crossed over, and I remained by myself until they had all passed over. Now many of my Greek friends[6] entreated me to [p. 106] allow them to settle in that country when they saw the beauty thereof, and I gave them the permission so to do; and we left a number of Greeks in that

Boats like Noah's ark.

The river passed.

[1] The children of Noah were believed to be builders of ships and navigators; see Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean Évêque de Nikiou*, p. 240.

[2] Tradition usually asserts that the ark lay on Mount Ḳardô, *i. e.*, on Jabal al-Jûdî of the Arabs, on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Jazîrat Ibn ʿOmar.

[3] In the Syriac he builds one thousand "Alexandrian boats" (p. 115).

[4] Read ወአዘዝኩ ።

[5] In the MS. አዘዝክዎሙ ። is written above the column.

[6] After the Greeks had crossed the river they journeyed on for two days and arrived in a very rich country, wherein Alexander built a city; here too he built a temple to Zeus and another to Rhea (Syriac version, p. 116).

country, and with them there were five hundred horsemen.

So we departed from that place, and marching on we arrived at a country filled with trees, and we encamped there for five days.[1]

And[2] we departed from that place and directed our march towards the land of Persia, for I wished to see the city of Sâmer,[3] the stones of which were black; and the palace of the city was seven hundred cubits long and seven hundred cubits wide. And I saw that the length of the city was four hundred stadia, and its width three hundred stadia, and it had three hundred and sixty-seven gates, according to the number of the days of the year, and the doors were made of polished brass and iron.[4] And the houses of these people were

The city of 367 gates.

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[1] The attack of Paryôg (see the Syriac version, p. 117) is omitted in the Ethiopic version. Paryôg made a raid upon Alexander's horses and cattle, and carried them off. The Greeks pursued, and finally came up to the wood wherein he had driven the animals, and set fire to it; Paryôg, together with fifteen hundred and seventy men, perished, and the Greeks recovered their horses and cattle. At this place Alexander dwelt four months, and there founded the city of Merv.

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 18 (Müller, p. 125, Meusel, p. 776).

[3] *I. e.*, the kingdom of Semiramis. The Greek has καὶ ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὰ Σεμιράμεως βασίλεια θεάσασθαι.

[4] The Syriac says (p. 118) that the walls of the city were of whole stones, the length of each being three stadia, which make a mile; it had also one hundred and twenty gates all bound with iron and brass outside.

built of one stone[1] from the foundations to the roof, and their queen was a woman who was more beautiful in appearance and who was more understanding than all the other women in the world, and she had three sons; now the name of the queen was Ḳendâḳâ (Candace). And when we had drawn nigh to her country I wrote a letter unto her, saying:—

Queen Candace.

Alexander's letter to her.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful and Gracious! "From the servant of God, the Two-horned king, "to Candace the queen of Shâmer [, Greeting]. In "former times when I was in the land of Egypt, "I saw there [your] lofty buildings and many "graves of [your] mighty men, and bones which "had grown old and had become as dust. Then "I enquired concerning these things, and they told "me[2] that thou hadst invaded Egypt,[3] and that "thou hadst dwelt therein for many days, and that "thou hadst slain the hosts that were therein, and "hadst carried into captivity their women and "young men. [And they told me] that when thou "returnedst [to thy country] thou didst carry away

[1] *I. e.*, they were monolithic. On the ten monolithic temples built by Lâlîbalâ in Ethiopia, see Perruchon, *Vie de Lalibala*, p. 122.

[2] In the Syriac version (p. 118) Alexander says that the priests told him that the god Ammon was the helper of the Ethiopians; with this statement compare Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. II. p. 234, ff.

[3] A reference probably to the capture of Memphis by the Ethiopians, for ምስር ፡ here probably means مصر, Cairo.

"with thee the gods, which the people used to "worship in Egypt, of gold, and of [p. 107] silver, "and of precious stones, together with quantities "of rich spoil besides. And, behold, I desire to carry "back from thee all these things, therefore bring "out to me whatsoever thou canst find, in order "that thou mayest save thyself from my vengeance "and that thou mayest obtain my favour. If thou "doest not this speedily I will come against thee "forthwith".[1]

Now when the message of the Two-horned king had reached Candace she made answer to his letter in these words:—

Candace's answer.

"From Candace, the queen of Shâmer,[2] and from "her generals, to him of the two horns, the king "of the Greeks. In former times when we were "in the land of Egypt our god Amen[3] was with "us, and he helped us against our enemies, and "we never at any time suffered defeat.[4] Now do "not imagine that the army which thou hast gathered "together will terrify us, for the valiant fighting

[1] The Ethiopian translator has missed the point of the Greek; Alexander calls upon Candace to bring to the border of her country the image of the god Ammon that he may worship him with her. See Müller, p. 126.

[2] Gr. Βασίλισσα Κανδάκη Μερόης.

[3] Reading አምን ፡

[4] Both the Syriac and Ethiopian versions have no equivalent for the words Μὴ καταγνῷς δὲ τοῦ χρώματος ἡμῶν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ λευκότεροι καὶ λαμπρότεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν λευκοτάτων (Müller, p. 126)

"men[1] in [my] army are [in number] eight hundred[2] "thousand horsemen, but if thou desirest to see "us in the day of battle, [well and good]. I have "sent thee a gift,[3] prithee receive it from me."

Candace causes Alexander's portrait to be painted.

And[4] Candace sent a skilful painter to Alexander's camp, and she ordered him to paint for her a portait of Alexander, and to depict very carefully his form, and walk, and look, and dress, and bearing; and the painter went to the camp of Alexander and disguised himself as one of his own friends, and took his likeness, and painted the picture of Alexander, and carried it back to Candace. And she took the effigy, and set it in her chamber without her children or the people of her house knowing anything of it.

Now when the messenger[5] returned to Alexander, he informed him that the queen had gathered together her soldiers and arms. And Alexander ordered his horsemen to make ready to march

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[1] Read መስተቃትላን ፡ እለ ፡ ውስተ ፡

[2] The Greek has ὑπάρχομεν δὲ εἰς πλῆθος σκυτάλαι ὀγδοήκοντα.

[3] The gift consisted of 100 gold ingots, 500 Ethiopians, 200 parrots, 200 sphinxes, a crown set with pearls and emeralds for the god Amen, 10 strings of pearls, 80 ivory boxes, 308 elephants, 300 leopards, 13 rhinoceroses, 4 panthers, 300 man-eating dogs, 300 animals for fighting, 6 elephants' tusks, 300 leopard skins, and 1500 ebony rods; see Müller, p. 126.

[4] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 19 (Müller, p. 126, Meusel, p. 777).

[5] *I. e.*, Cleomenes.

Candaules brought before Alexander.

whithersoever he might wish them to march, and while matters were in this state, behold, his friends brought in to him [p. 108] a son of Candace, whose name was Ḳanderôs (Candaules),[1] and who had gone out with a company of his soldiers, and with his servants, and wife to celebrate a festival. Now as I was asleep they brought him to Ptolemy my servant,[2] because of what he had done, and he said to him, "O son of queen Candace, "what hath happened to thee, and what hath brought "thee to us? Dost thou desire to act craftily with "us?" And he sware unto them that he did not desire to act craftily unto them, saying, "It is only "that I and my wife went out[3] to the country of "Ḳarâmîn [which is situated] in the great mountains, "and certain men overpowered us,[4] and slew my "friends, and carried off my wife, and my men-"servants and my maid-servants, and they captured "everything which I had with me. But I will go "back to my country, and to my mother, and I "will collect a large army and will recapture my "friends, and all my men, and I will lay waste

[1] Gr. Κανδαύλης. The Syriac (p. 212, l. 15) has Ḳandârôs ܩܢܕܪܘܣ

[2] They brought him to Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Σωτῆρι; Müller, p. 126, col. 1.

[3] In the Greek they were going out to the Amazons to celebrate their yearly mysteries.

[4] In the Gr. it was the τύραννος τῶν Βεβρύκων who carried off the wife to his own country of Bebrukia.

"their country. [Hereby] thou shalt know the truth "of my words." And when Ptolemy perceived[1] the truth of his words, he came in to me and woke me up from my slumber, and he related to me that a son of Candace the queen, unto whom I desired to go, had fallen into my hands, and he made known to me concerning what had happened in the matter of his wife; and I detained him[2] for one day and for one night while I meditated on the affair, and determined what I would do in it.

Alexander disguises himself as Ptolemy.

Now when the morning had come I ordered Ptolemy to sit upon my royal throne,[3] and I arrayed him[4] in my apparel, and I set my royal crown upon his head, and I stood up by his side[5] to minister unto him. And I called him by my name, and I called myself by his name, and I commanded my horsemen and my soldiers to stand up before him, and I ordered[6] the captain to bring in before him the son[7] of Candace [p. 109]. And when the captain had brought him in neither he nor anyone else recognized them, and the son of Candace saluted the king who sat on the throne as king, and related to him what had befallen him. And when Candaules and his men saw the soldiers and that noble presence they thought it was

Candaules deceived by his appearance.

[1] Literally, "heard". [2] Read ወአምቃሕክዎ ፡
[3] Read መንበረ ፡ መንግሥትየ ፡ [4] Read ወአልበስክዎ ፡
[5] Literally, "between his hands."
[6] Read ወአዘዝክዎ ፡ [7] Read ወልዳ ፡

Alexander, and they were smitten with mighty fear and trembling when they looked upon them; and they each said within themselves, "Behold, he "regardeth us in wrath." Now when the son of Candace saw this, a great fear came into his heart, and he died in his skin, and he was unable to utter one word, for he thought within himself that the king had ordered him to be put to death. And again Alexander [that is to say, Ptolemy] said, "What hath happened unto this man whom I see "[here]?" and El-Anṭîḳôn (Antigonus)[1] said, "As "the king liveth, this is the man Candaules, the "son of Candace. When we went out to keep "our guard for the king, we found him walking "about in a distracted manner and crying, and we "questioned him concerning his affairs, and he told "us that the lord of Ḳarâmîn had made war upon "him, and had carried off from him his wife and "everything which he had. What now dost thou "command in respect of this affair, O king?" Then he who had been called by the name of king answered and said, "I command, O general, that "thou shalt go with him, together with a large "company of horsemen, and thou shalt do battle "with the lord of Ḳarâmîn, and shalt recapture "the wife of Candaules and give her back to him, "and thou shalt bring his affairs to a happy issue, "and shalt take both him and her back to his "mother." Now when the son of Candace heard

Ptolemy orders Alexander to rescue Candaules' wife.

[1] The name Antigonus *plus* the Arabic article *al.*

these words he rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy, and he was pleased at this [order] and shewed himself joyful, and he did homage to the king even unto the ground, and prayed unto him.

Then he who was standing there, that is to say, Alexander, who had called himself by the name of Antigonus, the general,[2] said, "Since thou "hast thus commanded, O king, I will go with "him and will deliver him, but appoint for me "horsemen [p. 110] who shall be under my authority, "and who shall obey all my orders." So he told off for him thirty[3] thousand horsemen.

The expedition starts.

And[4] Antigonus, that is to say, Alexander, went out from his presence, having Candaules the son of Candace with him, and he marched with them until they drew nigh unto the country of Ḳarâmîn. Now it was still daylight, and the ambassador Alexander said unto the son of Candace, "Let "us hide ourselves here in this desert place until "the night fall, lest the people [of the city] see "us and tell their friends, and they slay the woman "before we arrive [there], and we shall not toil in vain.

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[1] Read **እልእንጢቆን ፡**

[2] Alexander first changes places with Ptolemy, and having gone out from the room returns to Ptolemy's presence disguised as Antigonus.

[3] The Greek has καὶ χιλιάδες ἑκατὸν (Müller, p. 128, col. 2.)

[4] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Book iii. chap. 20 (Müller, p. 128, Meusel, p. 778).

"Let us then tarry in this place until the evening, "and when it is dark we will enter the city. And "when we have come thither we will set it on fire, "and we will cry out to the people to bring out "the woman whom they have taken from thee. "If they will not do this we will burn up with fire "all their country, and we will slay every man of "them that we find. But when they see that the "slaughter of men and burning with fire have come "upon their city they will bring out the woman, "being smitten with fear and trembling."

The stratagem.

Now when he said these things to the son of Candace he rejoiced and did homage unto him even to the ground, and he said unto him, "O "man, behold great honour should be given unto "thee, and the kingdom of the Two-horned one "should, by rights, belong unto thee;" and when Alexander heard his speech he laughed at him. So they came to the city by night, none knowing of their arrival, and they set fire to it. Now when the men of the city discovered this they asked who had set fire to it, and it was told to them that Candaules, the son of queen Candace, had arrived, together with a great number of soldiers who had with them the chief counsellor of Alexander, to recapture the woman who had been carried away captive, and that if she were not restored to him they would burn them and their city with fire, and that they would pour out [p. 111] their blood like water. And when the men of the city saw these things they rose up against

Candaules flatters Alexander.

The city set on fire.

their lord who had carried away the woman captive, and they carried her away from him after he had lain with her—now he loved her dearly—and they gave back the woman to her husband. And when Candaules looked at the woman he fell down upon the ground and did homage unto the Two-horned one, who was pretending to be the chief of the counsellors of Alexander. And he said unto him, "Thou hast dealt graciously with me, and God "Almighty hath wrought a blessed thing by thy "counsel." Then they laid waste the city and slew all those that they found therein, because of what the man had done to the woman, for he had lain with her.

The wife of Candaules restored to him.

And when they had returned to the camp of Alexander, Candaules, the son of Candace, rose up and kissed the head[1] of the chief counsellor, and said unto him, "O my brother, I will beg of "the king to send thee with me to my mother in "order that I may reward thee for what thou hast "done for me;" and he said unto Candaules, "Speak to the king, and ask [this] of him, and he "will send me with thee, for I desire to go with "thee, and also to see thy city." And when they were with the king Candaules asked him[2] concerning the journey, and he consented to let him go. And Ptolemy said, "O Candaules, thou seest "what Antigonus, my chief counsellor, hath done

Alexander begs to be sent to Candace and is sent.

[1] Read ርእሶ፡
[2] Read ሰዓሎም ፡

"for thee, now it is for thee to treat him honour-"ably and to return him to me in safety".[1]

Then Alexander set out as an ambassador of the king, and he had with him[2] four companies of soldiers, and a second ambassador,[3] and they marched until they arrived at a great and lofty mountain,[4] and it was filled with fruit trees, and the stone of which it was made was crystal. And on the fruit there were huge and monstrous serpents, in such wise that none could ever eat of the fruit of the trees, and I saw exceedingly great multitudes of wild beasts. Then I said to the son of Candace [**p. 112**], "Why do the wild beasts thus swarm "in this country?" And he said unto me, "This "mountain is the paradise of our gods, and we "come hither at the festival at the beginning of "each year to offer sacrifices unto them and to "bring gifts unto them; and we eat of the fruit "of these trees and we take from them provisions "to last us on the way to our habitations. Now "these gods shew themselves to us, but verily "fiends, and devils, and Satans have in all times He sets out.

[1] In the Greek Candaules replies οὕτω παραλαμβάνω τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ὥς σε τὸν κοσμοκράτορα Ἀλέξανδρον! (Müller, p. 129, col. 1).

[2] Gr. ἔλαβε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἱκανὴν στρατίαν καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἅμαξας καὶ δῶρα (Müller, p. 128, col. 2).

[3] Read ለካከ ፡

[4] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 21 (Müller, p. 129, Meusel, p. 779).

"appeared unto men in these mountains, and the "people worship them in the city." So we marched on until we came into their city, and the mother and brother of Candaules came forth to receive him,[1] and when they wished to embrace and to hold him in their arms, he said unto them, "Do "not embrace [me], but embrace this man, for he "went forth in [the service of] my life and brought "back to me my beloved wife from captivity. "Receive him then as myself since he wrought this "deed for me, and he poured out the blood of "the people in their country, and he burned their "land with fire, and I saw this and rejoiced that "their kingdom had been laid waste in return for "the deed of shame wrought upon my wife." And when he had spoken to them concerning what had befallen him and concerning Antigonus who had been with him, and had told them how good Alexander had been to himself, straightway they all rose up and embraced me, and said unto me, "Behold it is meet that we should honour thee." Then the queen brought Alexander to the city and gave him rich gifts, and she commanded the people to make merry and to pay homage unto him, both small and great.

Candace receives Alexander graciously.

She gives him gifts.

And[2] it came to pass on the morrow that the queen sat upon the royal throne, and when Alexander

[1] Read ይቱቀበልዎ ፡

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 22 (Müller, p. 131, Meusel p. 779).

saw her beauty, and her noble stature, and her royal bearing, he was fain to compare her unto his mother, and he wept with a mighty weeping. Then the queen said to him, "What is it that "maketh thee weep, O my beloved one? for I "swear by God Almighty that we will do thee "[**p. 113**] no harm, and that we will do good unto "thee even as thou hast done good unto us." And he said unto her, "I weep[1] because of thy joy, "and because of what I have seen of[2] thee and "of thy beauty. And as for the similitude of thy "habitation, it could not be described by reason "of its beauty, and the manner in which it hath "been built, and the form thereof." Now the pavement of the chamber was [made] of red gold in which there was no alloy; and its walls were ornamented with all kinds of precious stones, and the cushions were likewise worked in gold, and the couches were of gold [set] with precious stones. And there were in this house pillars of stone which seemed to the beholder to emit rays of light, because they were decorated with a light green stone like unto crystal wrought with gold and set with precious stones, many of which were of great price; and the beholder saw himself reflected in them. When Alexander saw these things he marvelled at what he saw, for he had never before seen such royal state maintained by any king. Now when the feast was over—for she had brought

Description of Candace's throne chamber.

[1] Read በኪዩስ ፡ [2] Read ዘርኢኩ ፡

food for them to eat and wine for them to drink —Candaules said to his mother, "O my mother, "make prosperous the way[1] of Antigonus, and "hasten, I pray thee, his departure to his master;" and she consented,[2] and they slept there that night.

Candace converses with Alexander privately.

And it came to pass on the morrow that she commanded that no one should come into her abode. Then she took Antigonus by the hand and led him into her chamber—now there was no one with them except their two selves—and she took him, and embraced him in her guest-chamber, and spake unto him, saying, "O thou Two-horned "one, I am queen Candace." Now there was in that house a chamber which was built of stone like unto the heavens, the splendour of which dazzled whosoever entered therein, and a man would imagine that the rising sun was shining in it, and the floor of the chamber was made of red wood which fire could not burn, nor [p. 114] rain make to rot, nor the wood-worm bore through. Now the chamber was very large, and it sent forth rays of light, and sparkled like a mirror. And the house had foundations [laid] upon [beams of]

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[1] *I. e*, give him great gifts διδόδαι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄξια τῆς αὐτοῦ φρονήσεως δῶρα (Müller, p. 132, col. 1).

[2] Read ወእሆ፡

[3] The Greek is Κανδάκη ἐδείκνυεν αὐτῷ κοιτῶνας διαυγεῖς ἐξ ἀερίτου λίθου, ὥστε τὸν ἥλιον ὑπονοεῖν ἔνδον ἀνατέλλειν διὰ τῶν μαρμαρυγῶν. Ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τρίκλινος ἐξ ἀμιάντων ξύλων, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἄσηπτα καὶ ἄκαυστα ὑπὸ πυρὸς (Müller, p. 132, col. 1).

wood covered with .... iron, and these were [fixed] upon wheels made of iron and brass. And when the queen went forth on a journey she sat in the house, and elephants drew it along and the wheels turned whithersoever she pleased. Now when I had seen this I marvelled both at her own splendid form and beauty, and at the magnificent state in which she lived, for it was truly wonderful, and I had neither seen nor heard that such existed among kings. And as for the queen herself there is no man living who could sing her praises sufficiently; glory be to God Almighty, the King, the Maker, the Mighty One, the Great, the Creator of such a race of women who have brought forth children to the mighty.

Candace's royal state.

Now as concerning the raiment of Candace it was made of gold and of precious stones, and the scent which was about her was of musk, and of camphire, and of ambergris, and of the wood of India, and the odour which exhaled everywhere from round about her was like unto the scent from a garden of flowers. And when I saw these things darkness shrouded my heart, and I became sad because I had wasted my body in the heat of the sun, and in the cold of the night, and in the stress of battle, and I said to myself, "Why did "I not content myself with that state which was

Alexander meditates.

[1] In the Greek the house rests upon four large, square blocks of wood, and it moved upon wheels and was drawn by twenty elephants.

"given unto me among kings and with my condition, and lead a life of pleasure like other kings?" And then I turned [my thoughts], and said, "Inasmuch as God hath willed [my] destiny, He "will perform the matter, and behold, this work "hath been written down for me [by fate]. And, "moreover, it is the glorious God, Who hath given "unto me His kingdom, and Who hath made all "men and all His creatures everywhere in the "world[1] to know [it]." Now while I was pondering these things in my heart the queen said unto me, "O Two-horned one, on what thinkest thou?" Then I answered her, saying, "O my lady, call me not "by this name, lest my master should hear that I "am called [p. 115] by his name and should slay "me. And, behold, God hath dealt graciously with "me in that there was no other person here to "hear thee call me by the name which is that of "my master, for if he were to hear of it he would "either slay me, or he would be wroth with me, "and my soul would go [down] into hell." Then Candace, laughing, made answer to him, saying, "I called thee by no other name but thine own." And I said unto her, "O my lady, thou wilt destroy "me if thou wilt call me by this name, for I am "not the Two-horned one, but only Antigonus, an "ambassador of the Two-horned king, who is the "king of the world this day." Then she said unto me, "Thou thyself art he, for behold I recognize

Candace recognises Alexander by his portrait.

[1] Read ዘዓለም፡

"thee by thy portrait," and taking me by the hand she brought me into another chamber, and, having sent her men-servants and maid-servants outside, she shewed me the picture which the painter had painted, and said[1] unto me, "Dost thou recognize "thyself in this picture, or not?" Now when I saw my portrait I recognized in it myself, and behold my understanding became confused, and my thoughts were scattered, and darkness fell upon my heart, and I despaired of my life. And Candace said to me, "I see that thou art troubled and that thy "courage hath fled, O thou conqueror[2] of Darius, "the king of Persia, and of Porus, the king of "India, who was a mighty and a powerful king, "and the inheritor of a kingdom from his fathers, "moreover, the king of China did submit to thee. "And thou didst rule over these kings, and the "nations did homage to thee, and all the peoples "of the earth feared thee, and brought tribute to "thee, and they did render submission unto thee, "and were afraid of thee; and now fate hath led "thee captive so that [thou] hast fallen into the "hands of a woman, who waged no battle with "thee, and whose army suffered no fatigue on thy "account, and she hath the power to judge thee "as she pleaseth, and either to send thee away "free or to keep thee in captivity. And, behold, "God Almighty hath brought thee unto her [p. 116] "of thine own free-will and pleasure, and she hath

She shows him the portrait.

The world's conqueror vanquished by a woman.

[1] Read ወትቤለኒ ፡ [2] Read ሞኦከ ፡

"placed her hand in thine without either oath [on "her part] or covenant to prevent [her] from "[taking] thy blood. But it is not right for a "man to boast himself overmuch of what God "Almighty hath bestowed upon him, and he should "not say[1] that all wisdom and all knowledge have "been given to him alone, for His wisdom and "knowledge belong to each and every man."

Alexander's age.

Then the Two-horned one bit his lips, and wrung his hands and looked at Candace wrathfully, and as his anger was rising she said to him, "Why "dost thou rage, and wherefore bitest thou thy "lips?" And the Two-horned one said to her, "My wrath is fierce because my sword 'Lightning' "is not with me."[2] Then Candace, smiling at him, said, "And what wouldst thou do if thou hadst "thy sword with thee?" And he said to her, "I "would utterly slay thee, and then I would stab "myself until I died." And Candace said to him, "O thou fool, for that which thou hast said are "the words of a fool when they come from thee, "inasmuch as thou art the king of the earth. And "now thou art a captive in the hand of a woman, "and she hath power to send thee away free if "she wisheth. Be of good cheer, and let not thy "heart be sad, for I will not shed thy blood, and "I will restore thee to thine army, when thou hast

Candace consoles him with her love.

[1] Read ወኢይበል ፡

[2] Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠθέλεσε ξίφει ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην; see Müller, p. 133, col. 1.

"done that which I wish, and when thou hast "performed that which I wish. And I will save thee, "even as thou hast saved the life of my son from "slaughter, and hast rescued his wife from the "hand of her enemies; and moreover, I will call "thee by the name Antigonus[1] until thou departest "from this place. Now thou must not make thyself "known to the wife of my eldest son, for she is "the daughter of Porus, the king of India, and if "she were to know that thou art the Two-horned "she would slay thee even as thou didst slay her "father. And behold I will call thee Antigonus "[p. 117], the ambassador of the Two-horned."

Then[2] Candace took Alexander's hand and made him to sit by her side on the couch, and she embraced him, and she put on him the royal crown; and he lay with her that day and that night until the daybreak.

And[3] Candace went out from the chamber and sat upon her royal throne, and summoning her servants she called for her son Candaules and for his wife. [And when they had come] she said to him, "O my son, and O thou my daughter[4] his "wife, had it not been that God Almighty and

Candace addresses her sons.

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[1] Read ኢሌኢንጢቆን ፡

[2] There is no authority in the Greek for this paragraph.

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 23 (Müller, p. 133, Meusel, p. 781).

[4] Called in the Greek Ἅρπυσσα, and in the Syriac Mâlâpsâ ܡܠܦܣܐ (p. 222, l. 8).

"the Two-horned had loved this man Antigonus, I "should never have seen you again, and ye would "never have come back to me; now therefore "deal graciously with him and send him[1] away." Now when she had spoken these words Ḳanîr,[2] the eldest son of Candace, rose up and said to her, "Behold, O my mother, notwithstanding "that the Two-horned hath dealt graciously with "my brother and hath rescued his wife,[3] yet my "wife is angry because the Two-horned hath slain "her father Porus, and she wisheth to slay this "man who is his ambassador for her father's sake." And Candace his mother said unto him, "What "benefit will it be to thee, and what advantage "canst thou hope for if thou slayest his ambassador? "For his death will not make the Two-horned "wrathful, and dost thou imagine that no other "man can be found like unto this ambassador in "[all] his army? [I tell thee that] he will be grieved "in no way at what befalleth him, having once "sent him away to us." Then Candaules said to his brother, "I will not agree with thee to slay "the man who hath saved my life and who hath "restored my beloved wife to me; nay, it is "seemly for me to honour him." Then Ḳanîr

Candaules' brother would slay him.

[1] Read ወፊንውዎ :

[2] Called in the Syriac (p. 222, l. 12) ܩܐܢܘܪ and in the Latin Charogos; in the Greek MSS. no name is given to Candaules' brother.

[3] Read ለብእሲቱ ፡

said, "O my brother, I swear by our god that if "thou comest between myself and this man I will "slay thee with the edge of the sword; and God "judge between us both." And Candaules said, "O my brother, I do not wish to slay thee, but "I will never give up this man to thee."

The quarrel of the two brothers.

Now when Candace saw what had come to pass between her sons, she was afraid [p. 118] with a great fear, and she wished to divide her kingdom between her sons. Then she called the Two-horned apart, and said unto him, "Behold, "that which belongeth to thine honour lieth upon "me, and we both are jointly[1] concerned therein. "Now in times past thou hast shewn thyself to "be a great and honourable man, and thou hast "shewn thyself to be acquainted with the ways "(*or* methods) of warfare; bethink thee now of "some means whereby thou mayest deliver thy- "self out of the hands[2] of my sons." Alexander said unto her, "O queen, I will do so if it please "God Almighty the most High," and going forth from her he spake unto Ḳanîr and unto Candaules, saying, "Surely ye cannot think that Alexander "would be grieved if ye killed me, for he would "in no way be distressed on my account. If ye "do think such a thing I would have you to know "that had I been one of his friends he would not "have sent me to his enemies without his soldiers.

Candace asks Alexander's advice.

Alexander's plan of escape.

[1] Read ወተጻመርን ፡

[2] Literally, "from between my children."

"And besides this, it is not seemly to kill those "who are ambassadors. But, O Ḳanîr, if thou "wouldst like to lay thy hands upon the Two-horned "without toil and without battle I can do this thing "for thee." Then Ḳanîr said unto him, "If thou "doest this thing for me verily I will reward thee "well." And Alexander said unto him, "Tell me "how much money thou wilt give me, that hence-"forward I may dwell in thy country and live "with thee if I make thee master of the Two-"horned. For I will say unto the Two-horned, "'Behold queen Candace hath come out with great "gifts, and she hath ordered her followers, and, "behold, these men have come down and have "drawn nigh unto [thy] army, and are distant but "one day's journey; come forth then to her with "a few men that thou mayest see her, for, behold, "she hath given thee gifts, and wisheth to salute "thee; and I have taken tribute from them, and "they have multiplied their offerings unto us as "thou seest.' And when he shall come forth to "receive thee [p. 119] thou shalt lay hold upon "him, for there will be none with him who shall "make thee afraid, and thou shalt seize him[1] with "thy hands and do with him as thou wilt." Now when Ḳanîr heard his words he let him go free. Then Alexander laying hold of Ḳanîr's hand, said, "As God Almighty liveth, I will hand over the Two-"horned one unto thee, and I will deliver him

Alexander deceives Ḳanir.

[1] Read ወትንሥኦም ፡

"unto thee;" and Ḳanîr increased the amount of money and the number of cities which he had promised[1] to give to Alexander. And Alexander said unto him, "Thou shalt not consider me false "when I deliver this Two-horned one into[2] thy hand."

Ḳanir promises him great gifts.

And queen Candace marvelled at his knowledge, and at his astuteness, and at his skill in making false excuses, and at his power of overcoming men by craft, and again she took him aside, and sāid unto him, "O thou Two-horned,[3] thou dost "conquer men by slaughter, and by counsel, and "by false excuses." Then she gave him the royal crown which she had put on at the time when she sat by his side when they were alone together —now the eye of man had never before seen such a crown—and she gave him her golden couch which was studded with precious stones, upon which he had lain with her; and [she gave him] the glorious raiment in which she had slept [with him]; together with everything that was of value in her abode. And she gave him a cloak (?) wrought with gold, upon which were inscribed figures of the sun, and moon, and stars, and all the hosts of heaven—now it was set with gems of great price[4]

Candace's admiration for Alexander.

[1] Read ዘአሰፈዎ ፡ [2] We must delete እስመ ፡

[3] Read ኦቀርንቲሁ ፡

[4] In the Greek Candace gave him στέφανον ἀδαμάντινον πολύτιμον καὶ θώρακα διὰ λίθων καὶ βηρύλλων καὶ χλαμύδα ἀστεροφεγγῆ ὁλοπόρφυρον διὰ χρυσοῦ (Müller, p. 135, col. 1), but the Ethiopian translator seems to have mixed up together the descriptions of the breastplate and of the cloak.

Her gifts to him.

—and she gave him sixty loads of gold and silver, and a great number of horses, and mules, and wild asses, which had been broken in and trained to the yoke. And the son of Candace, whose wife he had rescued, gave him a like number of things, and Ḳanîr gave him many gifts[1] that he might deliver[2] the Two-horned unto him.

Ḳanir and Alexander depart together.

Then[3] Ḳanîr and one thousand horsemen from among the nobles of his army set out with him, and they went forth followed [p. 120] by Candace, who embraced him, and said unto him, "I have "had a matter with thee, do thou keep it [ever] "in remembrance;" and he departed and marched

The other gifts consisted of five elephants with their howdahs (ξύλινον κάστρον ἐπάνω αὐτῷν), and four large silver bells and eight men for each elephant. For the rest of the paragraph there is no authority in the Greek.

[1] Read አምኃ ፡ [2] Read ይመጥዎ ፡

[3] The incident recorded in the following paragraph is found neither in the Greek nor in the Syriac. In Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 24 (Müller, p. 135, Meusel, p. 782) Alexander marches to the hill where, as Candaules told him, the gods lived. He offered sacrifices and went to the place with a few soldiers. He saw a cloud of stars, and fiery splendour, and certain forms of men, one of whom greeted Alexander and told him that he was Sesonchosis, who had become an associate of the gods. Alexander asked him how many years of life were left to him, but the god gave him no definite answer, and only told him that it was better for a man not to know the day of his death. He foretells, however, that the town which Alexander shall found shall be inhabited by him, both dead and alive, and that it shall be his tomb.

away. Now when Alexander had drawn nigh unto his host he commanded Ḳanîr to encamp in a certain forest with the gifts and with a few men, saying, "I will go by myself to bring the Two-"horned out to thee, and when he cometh out to "see the offerings thou shalt come forth and lay "hold upon him with thine own hand, and without "striking a blow;"[1] and Ḳanîr did homage to the command of the Two-horned. And the king went on until he arrived at his camp, and when his soldiers saw him they sounded the horns and beat the drums. Then he commanded his host to ride forth, and they did so, and the captain of his host set out with eight hundred thousand horsemen, and his army covered up the ground. And Alexander marched out with his horsemen until he arrived at the forest, and having separated himself and a few of his friends from them according to his command, he himself cried out with a loud voice, saying, "O thou that dost wish to "slay the Two-horned, come forth to receive him, "and take his hand in thine." And Alexander went to Ḳanîr, and took him by the hand, and spake unto him, saying, "Behold, I have delivered "myself unto thee according to what I sware unto "thee; rise up now, if thou art able to do so, against "me." Now when Ḳanîr perceived the matter, the light of [his] eyes[2] was cut off, and he was horribly afraid of Alexander, and he was sorry that

Alexander returns to his soldiers.

Ḳanir's terror.

[1] በትር፡ means "stick", "rod". [2] Read አዕይንት፡

he had allowed him to escape from him while he was in his power, and by reason of his great terror he fell from his horse and was neither able to rise up nor to utter a word before him. And when he had recovered from his horror he did homage to the Two-horned, saying, "Give me my "life, and let me go back to my mother; as thou "didst [p. 121] deal graciously with my brother, "and didst toil for him, even so do thou deal "graciously with me, O good king." Then the Two-horned spake unto him, saying, "O Ḳanîr, "dost thou desire to slay the Two-horned?" And he spake unto him, saying, "O my master, have "mercy upon thy servant, and avenge not thyself "upon him for his folly's sake." Then the Two-horned said, "I have put away thine offence, but "as concerning my promise to thee that I would "put the Two-horned into thy hands, I have not "lied unto thee, for verily it hath come to pass." And he sent him away graciously, and he went back to his mother, and there was love and affection between them until the end of their days. Thus the Two-horned encouraged him, and sent him away in safety to his mother.

He submits to Alexander.

Alexander's visits to the Amazons.

And[1] it came to pass after these things that the Two-horned went to the land of the Martâs (Amazons), who are a nation of mutilated women, for they have only one breast, and their right

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 25 (Müller, p. 136, Meusel p. 782).

breast is like the breast of a man. Now when we drew nigh unto their country I wrote a letter unto them which was as follows:—

"From the servant of God Almighty, the Two-"horned, the king of Greece, to the Amazons, "[greeting]. Ye have heard what things God hath "bestowed upon me, and how He hath given "sovereignty unto me, and how He hath holpen "me against the wicked Darius, the king of Persia "and the heir of the kingdom of the mighty men who "were his fathers, and against Porus, the king of "India, the son of mighty men, and the lord of "devils and fiends, and ye have heard how God "hath opened for me cities, and countries, and "nations; and I give thanks unto God and I praise "Him for what He hath done for me. Now behold, "I wish to come unto you, therefore come ye out "to receive me, and submit yourselves unto me, "and bring ye out to me gifts from your country. "If ye will not do this I will come to you, but I "will take from you only such things of tribute "as my soul delighteth in. [p. 122] And I desire "that ye should bring out to me some of your "women and those who ride horses, and I will "give them great gifts; and I will only make them "to dwell with me one year if God, the Most "High, pleaseth".[1]

His letter to them.

[1] In the Greek and Syriac Alexander, after referring to his defeat of Darius and his kindness to the Brahmans, simply invites the Amazons to come to meet him, for he has no wish to do them harm, but only wishes to see their country.

And when the letter of the Two-horned reached the Amazons, they read it and returned to him an answer [which was as follows:—]

Answer of the Amazons.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious: "From the Amazons[1] to the Two-horned [Greeting]. "Behold, inasmuch as God Almighty hath delivered "us from thy anger, we all submit unto thee, and "to thee will we render service and tribute. And "we will go forth to thee as thou desirest, and "we will come to thee, together with our women "and our possessions; and we will come to thee, "and thou shalt be judge over us according to "thy desire. Peace be upon thee".[2]

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[1] We must either strike out ንጉሥ ፡ or read ኀበ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡

[2] In the Greek and Syriac versions Alexander writes two letters to the Amazons, and the chief Amazon writes two letters to him. In her first, the chief Amazon describes the dwelling-place, number, and manners and customs of her fellows. They live in a place surrounded by a river, and they are 1,400,000 in number. There are no men among them, for they live across the river, but once a year, when for 30 days they sacrifice to Zeus, Poseidon, Hephaestus, and Ares, the men cross over and live with them. The female children are brought up by the men until they are seven years old. When attacked by an enemy 120,000 horsewomen ride out against them followed by the men. See Müller, p. 136, col. 2. In her second letter the chief Amazon gives Alexander permission to come to their land, and she promises to pay him a yearly tribute of one hundred talents of gold; she sends 500 women to receive him and to take to him the gold and 100 fine horses. See Müller, p. 137. The second letters of Alexander and the Amazon form chap. 26 of Book III.

Then the Two-horned went to their country and received from them tribute and gifts, and afterwards he returned to the land of Persia; and it came to pass that as he was on the way he met the envoys of Aristotle the sage, and they had with them a letter which was as follows:— The Amazons pay him tribute.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious! "From Aristotle the sage, to the king, the Two-"horned. Behold, news hath reached me concerning "thy travels, and concerning that which hath "happened unto thee, and how God Almighty "hath given thee [His] help and victory over "thine enemies, and how He hath opened by thy "hand a way through cities and countries; now "all these things have taken place through the "help of the glorious God and through His power. "He hath given unto thee all these things whilst "thou art still a young man and a child in years,[1] "and He hath bestowed upon thee gifts which He "hath not given unto any other man before thy "time, [nor will give] unto any whose days shall "be longer than thine or whose punishments shall "reach further than thine. Behold now, that thou "mayest keep His chastisement away from thee "it is meet [p. 123] that thou shouldst return thanks "unto God Almighty for what He hath bestowed "upon thee. Offer thanksgiving unto Him, and "perform God's will, and cry out to Him, and Aristotle's letter to Alexander.

[1] In the Syriac version (p. 131) Aristotle says, "for at present thou art but thirty years of age".

"seek mercy from Him, for His grace is upon "thee; moreover, [thy] days in this world are "fleeting and thou must leave it unto others. O "haste thee to do that which is pleasing [unto "Him] before [thou] diest, and set this in thy hand "day and night, and be thou not slow [to perform "it]; for He will never leave thee, and He will "be with thee at all times." These were the words of Aristotle's letter.[1]

He exhorts Alexander to please God.

In the seventh year of the reign of the Two-horned, Alexander put[2] on his royal crown and apparel, and called unto the chiefs of his army and the kings whom he loved from among the people of his country, and he spake unto them, saying, "Hearken unto me, and take heed unto

Alexander's address to his army.

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[1] In the Greek and Syriac versions here follows a letter by Alexander to his mother which forms chapp. 27—29 of the third book of Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 139, Meusel, p. 784). What follows in the Ethiopic is a version of what I have called "A Christian Legend concerning Alexander." In the Syriac version the legend is entitled "An exploit of "Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, [shewing] how "he went forth to the ends of the world, and made a gate "of iron, and shut it in the face of the north wind, that the "Huns might not come forth to spoil the countries," and it is said to have been compiled "from the manuscript in the house of the archives of the kings of Alexandria" (see Budge, p. 144 ff.). A poetical version of the legend in Syriac, attributed to Jacob of Serug (born A. D. 451, died A. D. 521), was given by me in Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. VI. p. 357—404.

[2] Read ከለበሰ ፡

"my voice, O ye princes of my hosts, and ye "chiefs of my armies, and listen, if ye will, O my "men, unto the things which it is right for me to "speak unto you." And they said unto him, "Let "the king speak as he pleaseth, for we will walk "in subjection unto him, and we will make our-"selves like unto him, if God Almighty, the Most "High, pleaseth." Then Alexander said unto them, "Inasmuch as I have waxed strong through much "power, and my God hath wrought for me, and "hath revealed mysteries unto me, and hath been "pleased to place revelations in my hands, behold, "I desire to know what is the length of the earth, "and how many kings there have been in it, and "how many kings rule in each of the coun-"tries thereof. And I would know what it is "which supporteth the heavens, whether they have "pillars which bear them up, or whether they "stand by the decree of our God upon pillars of "fire which come forth from the bowels of the "earth. And I want to go and see and find out "what it is that [p. 124] surroundeth the earth; "therefore make ye ready to go with me, for I "will not forsake this plan if God, the Most High, "pleaseth." And they said unto him, "O good "king, other men among the kings who have "reigned before thee have, like thyself, meditated "upon these matters, and have desired to know "that which thou wishest to know, but they have "not been able to know what thou wishest to "know about the heavens and about the ends of

He wishes to explore the earth.

The soldiers agree to follow him.

"all the earth, and no man hath ever known "[what is] the boundary of the heavens. But we "have heard that the heavens are stablished like "a tabernacle, and that at the ends thereof is an "opening[1] from which come forth the waters which "descend upon the sea that surrounds the earth. "Now although the waters mix together, and the "waters which are above descend to the torrent "of water which is beneath, yet the waters which "are beneath do not ascend to the waters which "are above them, because those which are above "pour down on them. And beyond these waters "are eleven seas upon which men sail, but they "swallow up whatever [goeth] on them. And "beyond these seas again there are eleven lands "in the midst of the seas, besides a land which "is eleven stadia in length.[2] And beyond these "is the great sea which ships are unable to sail[3] "over by reason of the multitude of the waves "thereof, for the winds go forth from their treasure-"houses and blow upon it, and the waves thereof "mount up to heaven and go down into Sheol. "No bird is able to fly over that sea,[4] for the

The eleven seas.

The Dead Sea and its origin.

[1] Read መሰኮው ፡

[2] Compare "there are eleven bright seas, on which the ships of men sail, and beyond these are about ten miles of dry land, and beyond these ten miles there is the foetid sea (the Ocean) which surrounds all creation." Syriac version, p. 145.

[3] Read ይኅሉፉ ፡

[4] Compare the description of the Asphaltites Lacus by

"waters thereof are like unto pus and they stink "horribly, for these are the waters in which God "Almighty destroyed the people who perished in "the Flood, and their dead bodies, and the car-"cases of the beasts, and of the birds, and of the "reptiles [lie] in the depths thereof. On the shores "of that sea are innumerable trees which, by reason "of the great stench of the waters, are without "leaves; know, too, that all men who travel near "it die and are destroyed by the stink thereof."

[p. 125] Then the king, the Two-horned, answered and said unto them, "O my masters, have ye your-"selves seen this [sea], or have ye only heard tell "of it from [other] men?" They said unto him, "By Him Who hath given thee sovereignty over "us and over other peoples, and Who hath humbled "us and hath advanced thee to honour, one of "us who desired to know by experience [the truth] "of these words [set out to go there], but he was "unable to reach it." And after Alexander had

Tacitus (Hist. V. 6) "Lacus inmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur. Inertes undae superjacta, ut solido, ferunt: periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur." The Arabic geographers call it the "Foetid Sea" البحيره المنتنه and repeat the statement that there is no living thing in it or on it ولا يكون بها حيوان لا من الطير ولا من السمك; see Abû'l Fidâʿ, ed. Mac-Guckin de Slane, p. ٣٩, ٢٢٨; Masʿûdî, tom. I. p. 96. Yâḳût, tom. I. p. ٥١٦ calls it an "accursed sea", بحيرة ملعونة, and repeats substantially what we have in the text above.

spoken with them he went to seek the sea, but he was unable to approach unto the great[1] sea which surrounds the whole world; and it came to pass after these things that, desiring exceedingly [to go thither], he spake unto them, saying, "Verily, "ye have lied unto me in what ye have said, but "I am determined to go and to see [it], even "though ye did not see[2] [it], and also to see all "the kings who are in all the ends of the world. "If I find any kings stronger than myself,[3] by the "help of God Almighty Who hath given me do-"minion over them, I will slay them, and I will carry "off their possessions after I have defeated them. "And, moreover, if I find any strong nation which "is wont to go forth against me, and to slay men, "and to lay waste their countries, as it hath been "said, I will build between us and between them "an iron building."

Alexander's determination to conquer the world.

And it came to pass when he had said these things that the men set out, and he gave them orders [to speak] unto all the peoples in this wise, and he spake unto them, saying, "Sound the "trumpets;" and all his troops were gathered together unto him, both footmen and horsemen, and he took their chosen men, and their mighty

The number of his army.

[1] Read ዓቢይ ፡

[2] According to the Syriac we ought to read ኢርኢክሙ ፡ for that version has, "but although ye went and the sea did not give you a passage to cross, yet I too will go and see all the ends of the heavens" (p. 146).

[3] Read እምኔየ ፡

men of war with them; and their numbers amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand horsemen, besides footmen, and artificers, and workers in brass and iron, and workers in stone, and there followed them their wives[1] and their children and their men-servants and their maid-servants.

And when Alexander had finished the [p. 126] giving of his orders, he turned his face towards the east, and he prayed unto God Almighty, saying, "O my God, the King of kings, and God "of gods, and Prince of princes, with the eyes of "my heart I have beheld Thy glory, O Thou Who "dwellest above the Cherubim and Seraphim, and "around Whose throne thousands of thousands and "ten thousands of ten thousands of angels, and "archangels, and lords, and dominions stand and "sing hymns of praise unto Thee. O my God, "Thou art He Who abaseth and promoteth to "honour such kings as Thou pleasest by Thy "power, and sovereignty, and might. Thou knowest "what is in my soul, and Thou hast magnified me "among the nations, and hast exalted me among "the kings of the earth, and it is Thou Who hast "made two horns to grow on my head, wherewith "I may thrust down the kings of the earth. Grant "Thou unto me of Thy heavenly power, and "riches, and might, and victory over all the kings "of the earth, and grant that I may see Thy "mysteries in Thy land, and I will, by Thy power,

He prays to God.

The Two Horns.

[1] Read እምአንስቲያሆሙ ፡

"which is mightier than that of [all] kings, humble "to the dust those kings who know Thee not, "and the might of those who speak foolishly "against their King; for they are foolish folk, and "it is meet that they should give thanks unto Thy "holy Name, and to Thy dominion and power. "And moreover, grant thou to me this day, and "after this day, a memorial of which men shall "speak until remotest time, for Thou hast shown "unto me Thy mysteries in Thy creation".[1]

Alexander sets sail and arrives in Egypt.

And it came to pass that when Alexander had finished his prayer he put out to sea with a few of his followers, but his soldiers marched by land until they came unto Egypt the Great.[2] And the

[1] The first part of this prayer agrees with that given in the Syriac version (p. 146), but towards the end it is different. The latter part in the Syriac runs, "And if the Messiah, Who is the Son of God, cometh in my days, I and my troops will worship Him. And if He doth not come in my days, when I have gone and conquered kings and seized their lands, I will carry this throne, which is a seat of silver upon which I sit, and will place it in Jerusalem that, when the Messiah cometh from heaven, He may sit upon my kingly throne, for His kingdom lasteth for ever. And seven hundred pounds of gold shall be before the Messiah as a present when He cometh; and whether I die in one of the [other] regions of the world, or here in Alexandria, my royal crown shall be taken and hung upon that seat which I have given to the Messiah; and the crown of every king who dieth in Alexandria shall be taken and hung upon that silver seat which I give to the Messiah."

[2] In the Syriac they cross from Mount Sinai to Egypt.

generals of his army who were dwelling in Egypt came unto him, and said, "O good king, [p. 127] "it is meet that there should be smiths in thine "army. Now there are in the land of Egypt more "smiths than in all [the rest of] the world, and "they work with knowledge and understanding; "nevertheless[1] those who are with thee are better "workmen than all others on the earth." Now when Alexander heard their words he approved and sent for the king of Egypt,[2] who reigned subject unto him, and when he had come he said unto him, "Send with me seven thousand smiths of the "most skilful men of thy country, and let them "be with me wheresoever I am." And the king of Egypt obeyed his command, and gathered together cunning craftsmen, and when they had come to him, Alexander spake unto them, saying, "I[3] will deal graciously both with you and with "your beloved ones who shall come after you, "and, behold, ye shall find a country which is better "than this country in which ye are, and I will do "for you good things therein".[4]

The king of Egypt sends him black-smiths.

Then Alexander set out from Egypt by sea, and his troops were [with him] in large ships; now they carried the horses in ships,[5] but the

Alexander leaves Egypt.

[1] Read ወዘምስሌከ ፡?

[2] In the Syriac he is called Sarnâḳôs (p. 147), or Sôrîḳ, but ܣܘܪܝܩ is clearly a mistake for ܣܘܪܢܩ.

[3] እንሠ ፡ = እንሰ ፡

[4] There is no equivalent in the Syriac version for this speech. [5] Read እሕማር ፡

rest of the army and the heavy baggage went by land. And he sailed on the sea for four months and twelve days,[1] after which he arrived at the country which is beyond the twelve[2] great seas; and he disembarked there, and sent to the governors of the country, and when they had arrived and come into his presence they gave him gifts. Alexander said unto them, "How many guides[3] "have ye here?" And they answered, "We have "thirty and seven," and the governors set them before him, and commanded them to go with him. So Alexander marched with them until he came to a great sea, and he [ordered his soldiers] to go with them as long as they were able to go on, and that when they were unable[4] to go any [further] they were to stand still there and to drive into the seashore very large iron stakes, in order that they might fasten ships to them [p. 128] in that place.[5] And it came to pass when the men

Sails over four months.

He goes with guides to the great sea.

[1] In the Syriac version (pp. 147, 168) he sails for four months only.

[2] In the Syriac, "eleven bright seas".

[3] In the Syriac, "Are there any men here guilty of death?"

[4] Read ወበኀበ ፡ ኢይክሉ ፡

[5] When the thirty-seven evil-doers were brought to Alexander he said to them, "Go ye to the shore of the foetid sea, and hammer in stakes that ships may be tied thereto, and prepare everything needful for a force about to cross the sea." And the men went, and came to the shore of the sea; and when they had gone, and had arrived at the shore of the sea, they died instantly. And Alexander and his troops were looking at them when they died, for he and his nobles

had come to the sea that winds rushed out upon them from every side of it, and torrents of water were poured out upon them from the [four] corners of heaven like great and mighty claps of thunder, and they were unable to tarry there.[1] And Alexander commanded the masons to build a tower here in the sea, and they continued to pour lead and molten matter into the water until the building rose above its surface; then he built upon them a tower and a pillar upon which he carved his own figure having two horns upon his head and a key in his right hand. And he wrote above his hand in Greek, saying, "Whosoever hath "come into this place and would sail over the sea, "[let him know] that I have shut it up, and behold "the key is in my hand." And he put the fingers of his left hand in his mouth to prevent and warn whosoever would sail over that sea and pass by the tower, and to show care for him that he might not die and perish.[2]

He builds a tower.

Now while Alexander and his soldiers were taking those men along and they were marching with them beyond the tower, it came to pass as

His soldiers devoured by the sea.

had ridden to see what would happen to them and they saw that they died the moment that they reached the sea. Syriac version, p. 148.

[1] On another sea, similar to the Foetid Sea, called Kebûdân كبوذان, see Masʿûdî, tom. I. p. 97.

[2] The Syriac has no equivalent for this passage, and it would seem as if Alexander had been confounded with Sesonchosis who set up a pillar by the Red Sea.

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he drew nigh unto it that the waves of the sea leapt up upon them, and the sea swallowed them up, and they all perished while Alexander and his soldiers were looking on. When the Two-horned saw this he was afraid of the sea with a mighty fear, and he turned back, knowing that he was unable to [pass over] it to the darkness which he expected [to discover] there. Now he found that the sun rose over that sea, and that it went forth over it for one hour, and [again] at noontide. And beyond that sea, when the sun riseth on them, multitudes of men flee into the habitations which they have made in the mountains [**p. 129**], and some of them rush into the water through their fear of the heat of the sun, and again some, whether they be men or beasts, when the sun is burning hot with fire, may be found lying with their faces to the ground. And the sun goeth down in his place in the west[1] without fire and flame, and he travelleth all night until he riseth again in the place of his rising yesterday. These are the things which Alexander discovered concerning the sun at his times of rising and setting.

Intense heat of the sun.

The river Mûsâs.

And near the place where the sun setteth in the west Alexander found also a mighty river which is called Mûsâs.[2] And he turned and went

[1] In the Syriac version (p. 148) it is said that when the sun enters the window of heaven, he straightway bows down and makes obeisance before God his Creator.

[2] In the Syriac Alexander comes to a *mountain* called "the great Mûsâs". On the identity of this mountain with

back until he came upon the desert, and he encamped here for a few days. And in this place he found the river Euphrates, which goeth forth out of a huge cave, which is [situated] below very high mountains, and Alexander and his men went on again until he descended Herwîs,[1] to the place where the Tigris riseth; now this river is like unto the Euphrates, for they both are mighty rivers. Then he went on again until he came nigh unto Gâwezâ, and he ascended into the heights of those lofty mountains, which are above the earth, and the mountains, and the rivers. And he went up still higher,[2] and saw the heavens and the orbits thereof, and the stars and their stations, and the courses thereof, and he wrote down the calculations concerning them which Nimrod,[3] the mighty man, had made, and the times

The Euphrates.

Alexander's astronomical observations.

the mountain of Mâsh, in which the ancient Babylonian hero Gilgamish travelled, see Meissner, *Alexander and Gilgamos*, p. 13.

[1] In the Syriac, Halûrâs (p. 149). Haluras is described by the Arabic geographers as a place near the source of the Tigris, two and a half days' journey from Amid هلُورَس موضع عند مخرج دجلة على يومَيْن ونصف من آمد ; see Yâḳût, tom. IV. p. ٩٧٩: Juynboll, *Marâṣid*, tom. iii. p. ٣٢٢.

[2] *I. e.*, he probably ascended the mountain called Râmath, where there was a watch-tower; it was from this point, according to the Syriac, that he saw the four quarters of heaven.

[3] It was in the reign of Nimrod, the son of Canaan, that the worship of fire and of the stars appeared upon the earth وفى ايام نمرود احدث فى الارض عبادة النيران والانوار. The stars

[in which they revolved] in their orbits in years, and months, and days. Now he had knowledge of all these things, and he wrote it down and established it, and he taught it unto the wise men his friends.

He sets out for the north.

And after these things Alexander spake unto his friends, saying, "If God pleaseth, let us go up "by the way of the north and see what wonderful "things are there;" and he took four large ....[1] and went into the land [p. 130] which is called Ṭârîkes (Turkistân?),[2] and into Marteḳût, and Rûḳel, and Daphâr, and Ṭarmât, and Ḳânem, and Hûr, and Marîk.[3] And passing through the mountain which is called Mûsâs, he came down through them to a place which is called Nalhemyâ, and he passed on from there and travelling on came down to a very great mountain gate (*or* pass), wherein were many large roads by which merchants travel into the countries which are beyond those mountains. Then the Two-horned commanded that a herald should go round about among his soldiers, and

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and their influences on human life were carefully studied and instruments for their observation, etc., were devised وعبر ذلك وظهر القول بالنجوم واحكامها وكورت الافلاك وعملت لها الالات وقوب فهم ذلك الى قلوب الناس See Masʿûdî, tom. I. p. 83.

[1] The Syriac has (p. 149), "Let us go forth by the way of the north; and they came to the confines of the north, and entered Armenia, and Adhôrbâîjân and Inner Armenia"; **አርማያ ፡** we should probably correct into **አርማንያ ፡**

[2] In the Syriac, Ṭûrnâgiôs.

[3] In the Syriac, Bêth-Pardiâ, Bêth-Teḳîl, Bêth-Drûbîl, Bêth-Ḳâṭarmên, Bêth-Gebul, Bêth-Zamraṭ.

throughout the whole of that country, proclaming, "O men, neither fear, nor murder, nor terror, nor "captivity,[1] nor burning, nor imprisonment has "come upon you, and no man shall come forth "against you to do you any harm." He proclaims peace.

Now when the people of that country heard that the [reason for] fear and trembling had been taken away from them, they chose three hundred of their sages—now their teeth were very long and projected from their mouths like [the tusks] of elephants—and they came to the Two-horned and brought gifts unto him, and they begged from him life and freedom. Then the Two-horned said unto them, "To what kingdom do these people "who live here belong, and to whom do ye your-"selves give tribute?" They said unto him, "This "country is under the kingdom of Persia, and it "belongeth unto Aksĕyûs (Xerxes?) the Persian,[2] "and to him do we pay tribute." And the Two-horned said unto them, "Have ye seen how far this "mighty mountain which goeth down to the pass "reacheth?" They said unto him, "This mountain "retreateth, as thou seest, until it endeth at the sea "which surroundeth the world, that is to say, the "sea Bôntôs (Pontus), and there are therein neither He comes to Persian subjects.

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[1] Read ወኢፄዋዌ ፡

[2] In the Syriac "Tûbârlâḳ, the king of the Persians", who is also called in the metrical version, "Great King of the territory of the Persians and of the Amôrâyê"; see p. 149. He is also said to be of the race of the house of Aḥshôraḥ, *i. e.*, Xerxes.

"paths nor roads. And it cometh to an end some way "off near the land of Persia, and at its [**p. 131**] ex- "tremities are roads which bring a man out to Ad- "hôrbâîjân, and to the land of Persia, and to the "land of India. And this mountain retreateth, as "thou seest, towards a mighty river which is by the "side of the sea, and which goeth up round about "the road. Snakes, and scorpions, and all kinds of "reptiles are found on this road, and no man can "travel thereon without great fear [of death] by "reason of the multitudes of wild beasts and "reptiles which dwell here. Neither we, nor our "fathers and grandfathers who were before us, "were able to go up therein, even as thou thyself "shalt see, if God the Most High pleaseth, and "this mountain [serveth] as a fortress between us "and the nations who live beyond it, for they are "evil nations." The Two-horned said unto them, "What are these nations which live beyond that "mountain? And they spake unto him, saying, "Magûg (Magog), and Yâgûg (Gog), and Nûlî, and "Agma, and Amrâbân, and Namû, and Bargîsa, "and Samĕrîḳ, and Hôsâĕ, and ʿAsefâ, and Salgû, "and Katlûbî, and Amrâḳ, and Ḳawâbîr, and Ḥanô; "these are their twelve kingdoms"[2]—Now we have

The wicked nations.

[1] In the Syriac the mountain passes by the sea of Bêth-Ḳaṭrâyê, *i. e.*, the Persian Gulf, and ends in outer Persia near India.

[2] In the Greek (Müller, p. 143, col. 1) twenty-two kingdoms are mentioned, but only the names of *twelve* are given:—Μάγωγ, Κυνεκέφαλοι, Νοῦνοι, Φονοκεράτοι, Συριασοροὶ, Ἴωνες,

found in the book of Dĕyâsyâs, who speaks therein concerning [their] kingdoms that they are twenty-two in number, that is to say, Magûg[1] (Magog), and Yâgûg (Gog), and Nûyâl, and Yûal, and Aknûk, and Asâkâbîr, and Ḳaryâwîyân, and Kuerbĕ, and Lâkan, and Dab'ân, and Ḳarṭân, and Raban, and Zanobên, and Dûlî, and Marḳî,[2] and Mâyâwîyân, and Kalbâtâs, and Manza', and Yômân, and Kaslĕwî, and Malkî;[3] these are all their kingdoms. And the Two-horned spake unto them, saying, "Tell "me concerning these nations, and about their "apparel, and of their manners and customs; surely "they live after the manner of men?" And the men answered him, saying, "They are men with "blue eyes[4] and red [hair], but [p. 132] their women "are not like unto our women who have two "breasts apiece, for they have only one apiece, "and they are much more powerful than their "husbands. Each one of these women has a "number of knives hung upon her hands and neck,

Gog, Magog, etc.

The women of the Huns.

Καταμόργοροι, Ἱμαντόποδες, Καμπάνες, Σαμάνδρεις, Ἱππύεις, Ἐπαμβόροι. For lists of the names in Syriac see the Syriac version, p. 150, and Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 128.

[1] Some think that Gog and Magog were two nations descended from Japhet, the son of Noah, and others that they were descended from the Ten Tribes who worshipped the Golden Calf. See Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 56.

[2] Read መርቂ ፡

[3] The text only gives twenty-one names.

[4] Compare Lidzbarski in Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, vol. VIII. p. 302, l. 12 f.

"and girt round about her thighs, so that whenever "a woman goeth to war and findeth herself engaged in fighting she can lay hold upon a knife "from any place she desireth on her body, and "stab with it any one who [wisheth] to stab her. "Whether it be her child, or husband, or daughter, "the clothing of all these nations is dressed skins; "they never cook their meat, but they eat it raw "without any cooking whatsoever. When they "find the blood of a man which hath been shed "they drink it, and their food [consists] of the "flesh of reptiles.[1] The men never go down into "the towns and cities, and they never mix with "their fellow-creatures, but their habitations are "booths and tents. Their running is as swift as "the flight of stags, and is as that of goats, and "they are as fleet in their courses as horses. None "of their men fights unless many of their number "are mounted, and they fly about hither and thither "like wild goats; and God Almighty sendeth them "against the nation which is to be punished, for "they are merciless. And when the time cometh "for them to go forth to war they take a pregnant "woman, and strip off her apparel, and kindle a "huge fire, and set her in front of the fire until "her child is cooked in her womb. Then they rip

Dress and food of the Huns.

Their tactics in war.

[1] These are clearly the people described in Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 29: ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐσθίοντα σάρκας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πίνοντας αἷμα ζῶον καὶ θηρίων ὥσπερ ὕδωρ· τοὺς γὰρ νεκροὺς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔθαπτον ἀλλὰ ἤσθιον.

"up her belly, and take out[1] her child, and lay "it in a large trough, and they throw much water "upon it, and they light a fire beneath the trough, "and boil it until the flesh is entirely boiled away "in the water; they next take some of the water "and sprinkle it upon their beasts [p. 133] and "upon their weapons of war. By reason of these "things if one man should fight with a hundred "thousand he would slay them and overcome them, "and this cometh to pass because this work is of "the Devil, whom they serve; and when a woman "conceiveth she perceiveth that she must draw "nigh to her husband that the child in her "womb may be an offering unto Satan their father.[2] "Now among all the nations [of the world] there "are no folk more numerous than they, for they "are like the sand of the sea [shore], and God "Almighty chastiseth whatsoever nation He pleaseth "by them, and there are no folk who are more "numerous than they or more strong and mighty".[3]

Their horrible customs.

They are the scourge of God.

And the Two-horned spake unto them, saying, "Have they invaded this your country in your days? "or have ye seen them and watched their [plan "of] battle? or have they never come forth at "all [in your days]?" The men said unto him, "O mighty king,[4] thou upon whom [God] hath

[1] Read ወያወጽእዎ ፡ [2] Read አቡሆሙ ፡

[3] Compare the account of the Tartars in Marco Polo (ed. Yule, vol. 1. p. 244 ff.).

[4] Read እንጉሥ ፡

"bestowed sovereignty, and hath given dominion "over all the kings of the earth, and to whom He "hath revealed the mysteries of His creation "which He hath not revealed to any other [king], "who hast bestowed upon us mercy and com-"passion, and hast spared our lives, if we were to "hear [only] of their coming the greater part of "our men would die without [the smiting of] a "sword and without the [stroke of] a stick, by "reason of our fear of these terrible nations, for "our terror of them is indeed great. And all the "ruined fortresses which thou seest in our country "and [in] this mountain have been destroyed by "them, and they have slain all our people; and "in the matter of [the people of] the land of Persia "it is they who have forced a way into their great "and strong fortresses, and it is they who have "scattered their kings and their mighty men of "war, and they have carried off into captivity their "children, together with those who begat them, "and they have laid waste all their land and "countries."

The whole country is wasted by the Huns.

The Two-horned said unto them, "Are there "any nations living beyond[2] them?" And the men answered and said unto him, "There are nations "living beyond them, namely the Taftâs, that is to "say the Nagâshâwîyân, [who have] faces like dogs, "[p. 134] of whom the number is unknown, and "no man is able [to tell] their names: no man

[1] Reading መውብዝኀትነ ፡ [2] Read ዘእምድኅሬሆሙ ፡

"hath been able to enter this land, for there is nothing "therein except lofty mountains. And Paradise [is "situated] above the tops of the lofty mountains, "and it standeth between heaven and earth, and "it is like a mighty city, and its covering and its "supports are above the [four] winds in every "part thereof." And the Two-horned said to them,[1] "Where do the rivers, that is to say Sêḥûn (Pison), "and Gihon (Nile), and Euphrates, and Tigris flow "forth from Paradise? And is this the Paradise "which hangeth between heaven and earth? I do "not understand you to tell me that ye yourselves "have seen[2] it." The men answered and said unto him, "God Almighty by [His] knowledge was able "to make the rivers to flow forth from Paradise "out of the heart of the earth, and He made them "to flow by His power and brought them forth, "and perfected His desire. Now the great rivers "which we have mentioned come forth from the "four quarters of Paradise, and are even like the "form of the Cross, towards the East, West, South, "and North. And let the king know that some "of the rivers rise and flow out of caves, and "that some of them gush out from beneath the "earth." Now when the Two-horned heard these things he marvelled at what the men had told

Paradise and the four rivers.

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[1] The Syriac has, "and the clouds and darkness which surround it are visible afar off, and the horn of the north wind rests upon it" (p. 152).

[2] Read ርኢክምዋ ፡

him concerning the mountain and about those who dwelt therein, and about the great sea, and about the rivers and streams which no man was able to cross.

Then the Two-horned spake unto the sages who were with him, saying, "I wish to make here "a sign unto men which shall be for me a me-"morial for ever;" and they said unto him, "Do "that which God Almighty, the Most High, hath "put in thy heart to do." Alexander said unto them, "I will place here a gate of brass and iron "which shall serve as a wall and a fortress against "the nations [**p. 135**] who are in the country which "is behind this high mountain." Now by his under-

[1] This refers to the Pass of Derbend, apparently the Sarmatic Gates of Ptolemy, and the *Claustra Caspiorum* of Tacitus, and to the ancient wall which runs from the castle of Derbend along the ridges of the Caucasus called *Ṣadd i-Iskandar*, or the "Rampart of Alexander". The Arabic geographers call it بَابُ الأَبْوَاب "Gate of Gates"; see Yâḳût, tom. i. p. ٣٧; Abû'l-Fidâ, p. ٣٩. According to Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 2, this gate was built in a defile in the mountains by Chosroës Anûshirwân at a spot halfway between the mountains and the Sea of Khazar; he also built a wall running into the sea and up along the mountains for a distance of forty parassangs until it came out at a place called Tabarestân. At every three miles along its route was an iron gate with a guard of soldiers, and the whole work formed an impassable barrier to the Khazars, Alani, Turks, Sarirs, and other nations of infidels. Further on (p. 73) he says that this barrier was more necessary than ever in his own time to protect the nations from the barbarities of the invaders.

standing he set a seal upon the peoples of Yâgûg (Gog). So Alexander encamped in this place, and he called unto him the skilled artisans who were with him, and he chose from their number three thousand men who were workers in iron, [and three thousand men who were workers in brass]. And they took the skins of mighty beasts and made them into bellows for blowing the fire, and they melted brass together with the iron, and the one metal mingled with the other, just as when a man kneadeth clay. And he made a gate, the length of which was twelve[1] cubits, and the breadth thereof was twelve cubits. And he made a large threshold for the gate and placed it below the gate, between the two mountains, and he sank it into them and then he poured brass and iron over it; and he made bolts of brass and iron, and drove [them] into the threshold above and below. Then he set up the gate and gave orders to close it. And he made two bolts, the length of each of which was twelve[2] cubits, and he drove and hammered them into the two mountains, and he ordered [the smiths] to drive nails into the gate, and he made for it hinges.[3] And he said, "This "gate shall stop the way of the horsemen of the "nations [which are beyond], and prevent them

Alexander's gate of iron and brass.

[1] Read ፲ወ፪በእመት ፡

[2] Read ዘለለ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ ፩ ፡ ፲ወ፪በእመት ፡

[3] See an Arabic life of Alexander published by Lidzbarski in Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, vol. VIII. p. 305.

"from coming out, and even men shall not be able "to come through it." Then he poured iron over the threshold and fastened the gate with *el-yâsûs* fastenings, that is to say with phylacteries, which are writings in Greek, so that it might not be opened without the command of God Almighty. And again he brought brass and iron, and he mixed them together and made for the gate a key with twelve teeth,[1] and he made for it a lock (?) and a ring in brass, and a number of men brought it and [**p. 136**] he shut the gate. Then Alexander spake, saying, "When the time shall "arrive for punishment to be meted out, and God "Almighty, the Most High, shall give the order "for this gate to be opened, then shall it[2] be "opened and the earth shall be right; and men "shall marvel at the gate."

The gate shut and sealed.

Now when Alexander had finished the work of the gate he closed it firmly, and sealed it, and covered it over and protected it[3] with phylacteries, against which neither fire nor sword nor any other thing could prevail.[4] And he wrote in lead above

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[1] According the Syriac (p. 153) the key was twelve cubits long.

[2] Read ውእቱኒ ፡ [3] Read ወመረን ፡

[4] Of this gate Pseudo-Callisthenes says (Bk. iii. chap. 29, Müller, p. 143, col. 1) Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐποίησα πύλας χαλκέας πηχέων κΒ′ (or ιβ′) τὸ πλάτος καὶ ὕψος πηχέων ξ′ ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ καταχρίσας τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας ἀσοκίτῳ ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μήτε πῦρ μήτε σίδηρος ἢ οἱαδήποτε ἐπίνοια δυνήσωνται ἀναχαλκεῦσαι τὰς πύλας τὸ γ̓ὰρ πῦρ ἀγόμενον

the door in Greek characters the same inscription that he had written upon the pillar which is in Alexandria,[1] saying, "The nations shall gather "themselves together every year, and at every "season, and at every time, and shall seek to open "this gate, and [though] they plan with all manner "of counsel they shall never succeed in opening "it. And when they are not able to do so they "shall lick it with their tongues, which are sharp "like the tongues of serpents, but they shall not "be able to open it, and it shall not be opened "until the time hath arrived when God Almighty, "the Glorious and Most High, shall be pleased to "open it[2]; now this shall be in the eight hundred "and sixty-fourth year.[3] And at the end of ten "thousand [years] which shall pass by,[4] the nations "shall perish, and the marvellous things which are

Alexander's prophecy.

εἰς αὐτὰς σβέννυται, καὶ ὁ σίδηρος συντρίβεται. The measurement, 60 cubits by 12 cubits, agrees neither with the Syriac nor Ethiopic. Besides this gate the Greek says that Alexander built a barrier of stonework (ἐθέμην ἑτέραν οἰκοδομὴν διὰ λίθων πετρίνων) 20 cubits high, 11 cubits wide, and 60 cubits long. Over the stone he poured tin and lead, and he smeared the whole building with some substance like asbestos (καταχρίσας τὴν τοιαύτην οἰκοδομὴν τῷ ἀσικυτίνῳ)

[1] For the inscription which Alexander set up over the gate of Alexandria, see Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 428.

[2] Read አርኅዎቶ፡

[3] In the Syriac "eight hundred and twenty-six years" (p. 154).

[4] The Ethiopic text is corrupt here. The Syriac says that the things which it describes shall happen after 940 years.

"in all the world shall come to an end, for there "shall be none of them left, and there shall not "be left a man to blow the fire, nor a dog to "defile a wall. Sins and transgressions shall in-"crease, and the wrath of God Almighty shall des-"cend upon mankind by reason of their works. "And God Almighty will send[1] against them of "the kings of Yâgûg (Gog) and Mâgûg (Magog), "and they will go forth against man from the ends "of their land, and they will gather themselves "together against the gate, together with their "horsemen and their weapons of war, and they "will cry out to God Almighty with a loud voice, "and He will throw down the gate which hath "been made without its [being opened] by its key. "Then shall their armies go out through the gate, "and as [p. 137] the horses walk over the lower "threshold, by reason of their great number it "shall be worn away by more than a half, that is "to say, by a full cubit—now this shall happen "by reason of the multitudes of those which shall "walk over it, both of man and of beast—and "likewise the upper threshold [shall be worn away] "by the marks [made by] their spears and weapons "of war. And it shall come to pass that when "Yâgûg and Mâgûg go forth, they shall cry out "in the borders of the earth, to Rûm, and Persia, "and Arabia, and the nations shall gather them-"selves together, and there shall be twenty-four

God shall open the gate for Gog and Magog.

[1] The text seems to be corrupt here.

"thousand[1] kings there, and they shall destroy "multitudes of nations of men, so that the earth "shall not be seen by reason of the blood which "hath been shed upon it; then shall the royal "armies[2] go forth, and men shall come into sub-"jection unto them. Now let not any man hold "me to be a liar because of what I say, for if he "doth not believe my words, let him see what "Jeremiah[3] the prophet prophesied concerning these "things by God. And behold, there is another "sign which God hath set behind the gate, that "is, a stone[4] which drippeth blood upon the rock; "and the peoples of those lands shall come forth "and wash their heads in the blood, and they "shall drink thereof and then return to their own "nations. So likewise shall God Almighty pour "out the blood of men upon the earth, even as "the blood from that stone is poured out upon "the rock".[5]

The stone which drippeth blood.

[1] In the Syriac, "twenty-four kingdoms" (p. 155).

[2] The allusion here is to the soldiers of the Greeks directed by Alexander; see the Syriac version, p. 155.

[3] See Jeremiah i. 14.

[4] In the Syriac, "a sponge full of blood".

[5] Following this speech there comes in the Syriac (pp. 156—159) an account of the battle of Alexander with Tûbârlâḳ, King of Persia, who with the help of Mĕshazbĕrî, King of Inner India, Bar-Sîdaḳ, King of Ḳâdêsh, and Hûrazdân, King of Javan, gathered together sixty-two kings and 1,100,030 men; Alexander's force consisted originally of 320,000, but 4000 had died since he left Alexandria. The Greeks defeated the allied forces, but eventually Alexander and Tûbârlâḳ

Alexander marches into the land of darkness.

Then the Two-horned departed from that place and from that country. And he, together with a few of his friends, marched for many nights in the region of darkness,[1] and he went before them, and left his friends who were with him to watch for him in the head of the darkness,[2] for they were aweary with marching in the darkness, but God Almighty gave him strength for the journey. And it came to pass that after he had marched for one day and one night he sat down [p. 138] to rest for a time, and afterwards, when he went on again into the darkness he found a straight path which had no wall, and it had no high and no low place in it. And it came to pass that as he was marching through the night,[3] he arrived at the mountain which surroundeth the whole world, and it was concerning this mountain that God Almighty spake unto Job, the righteous man, when He said, "I have created the world, and I have "surrounded it with a stone to strengthen it so "that it may not move." And he saw near the mountain a certain one of the angels holding the

The angel of the mountain.

agreed that 6000 Greeks and 6000 Persians should guard the gate of iron and brass. Alexander settled the smiths who had made it in Bêth Dĕmâ and Bêth Dôshar.

[1] The land probably referred to in Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 37 (Müller, p. 88, col. 1), καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν δέκα διελθῶο, τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας πὺκ ἦν φέγγος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ὥρας μιᾶς μικρά τις ἐφαίνετο αὐγή.

[2] *I. e.*, at the place where the darkness began.

[3] Read በሌሊት ፡

mountain in his hand and keeping it firm. Now when the Two-horned saw [the angel] he feared him with an exceedingly great fear, and he went to him singing praises by reason of his fear, and Alexander, the king, the Two-horned, praised him with these praises, saying:—

"Glory and praise be unto Thee, O my God "and Lord, from this time forth and for evermore. "Amen. **Alexander's hymn of praise.**

"Glory be to Thee, O my God and Lord, now "and always. Glory be to Thee, O my God and "Lord, from the place whereon my foot standeth "even unto the ends of the world, and to the ut-"most limits thereof.

"Glory be to Thee, O my God and Lord, from "the place whereon I dwell even unto Thy habi-"tation. Glory be to Thee, O my God and Lord, "O Thou Who sittest above the Cherubim,[1] and "Who watchest the earth, and Who hast placed "it that it may tremble at Thy Majesty.

"Glory be to Thee, O my God and Lord, from "the darkness even unto the light. Glory be to "Thee, O my God and Lord, Who hast made "thy angels spirits, and those who bear Thee "along a flame of fire.[2]

"May God Almighty, my God and Lord, be "blessed, and may His memorial be exalted."

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[1] Compare ዘይነብር ፡ ልዕለ ፡ ኪሩቤል ፡ Psalm lxxx. 1.

[2] Compare ዘይሬስዮሙ ፡ ለመላእክቲሁ ፡ መንፈሰ ፡ ወለእለ ፡ ይትለአክዎ ፡ ነደ ፡ እሳት ። Hebrews i. 7.

Then the Two-horned drew nigh unto the angel, and he heard the sound of hymns of praise, which were like unto peals of thunder, and [p. 139] the eyes of the angel were like unto a flame of fire, and his appearance was like that of the lightning.

He journeys for twelve days and twelve nights.

And it came to pass that the Two-horned marched into the darkness a journey of twelve days and twelve nights, and he rested not, neither did he eat or drink, and he ceased not from singing hymns of praise for a single[1] moment, until he came to[2] that angel. Now he perceived the radiance of the angel when he was yet the journey of one day and one night from him, and he was not able to come near him. And it came to pass that when he had drawn nigh unto the angel [he found] him to be a flaming fire, and he was afraid of him because he saw an exceedingly mighty thing, for he saw the angel holding the mountain, and he[3] was singing hymns of praise to the Highest with a loud voice unceasingly. Then the Two-horned enquired of the angel, and when the angel spake unto him he saw coals of fire fall from his mouth, and his words were soft. Then the Two-horned paid homage to God Almighty and gave thanks unto Him, and ascribed praise unto Him because He had given him understanding to speak

The angel of the mountain.

[1] Read ወኢአሐተ ፡

[2] Read ኀበ ፡

[3] Read ወውእቱኒ ፡

with the angel. And he lifted up his head, and spake to the angel, saying, "O thou angel to whom "dominion is given over all the ends of the earth, "what doest thou?" And he said, "Dost thou keep "hold upon this mountain? Doth it desire to leap "out of thy hands?" The angel answered and spake unto him, saying, "Who art thou? and for "what reason art thou here, O man? for thou art "of the children of Adam. And how is it that "thou hast been able to come into this darkness, "into which no other man hath been able to "penetrate? Tell me, whence comest thou? and "who guided thee unto me?" The Two-horned said unto him, "It is God Almighty, my Lord and "thy God, Who hath guided me until I came unto "thee. He hath given me strength, as thou mayest "see, and I have come into the land wherein my "feet [found] neither stone nor stumblingblock; and "I have arrived in this [p. 140] place, which is "Paradise, by the command of the glorious God, "for it is He Who hath given this unto me, and "He it was Who wished to reveal to me this "mystery." The angel said unto him, "O man, "boast not thyself before me with such words as "these, and say not concerning God Almighty that "it is because He loveth thee that He would reveal "this mystery unto thee.[1] Moreover, thou art a "sinful man, and thou art the son of Adam, the "sinner, and God brought thy father Adam out

The angel converses with Alexander.

The fall of Adam.

[1] Read ከሰተ ፡ ለከ ፡

"of Paradise, and drove him forth out of this land[1] "in which thou goest round about. Now thou hast "imagined that this darkness through which thou "hast journeyed is land, but in travelling upon it "thou hast not travelled upon land, for what thou "hast passed over is water, and, moreover, thou "hast only made thy way through this darkness "for one night. And as concerning the rest of "thy goings they will be upon water, that is to "say, [on] the great sea which surroundeth all "creation. And from the time when God Almighty created Adam until this day wherein thou "hast come to me, no man hath been able at any "time to journey in the path which thou hast taken, "and no created thing whatsoever knoweth this "place. Know, moreover, that it is God Almighty "Who hath granted thee to see this wonderful "thing. And as concerning that which thou hast "asked of me about the order which hath been "given to me, and about my holding fast this "mountain that thy foot may not slide, I will tell "thee what commands the Creator of me and of "thee gave unto me. Now this mountain surroundeth "all the earth, all seas, and all lakes and rivers, "and beyond it there is absolutely nothing at all. "In the mountain itself there are no created things "whatsoever except darkness, and the Water of "Life, that floweth from a river, which floweth "forth from beneath the throne of the glorious

Alexander's future journey.

The angel describes creation.

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[1] እግዚቲ፡ = እግአዚብሔር፡ እም፡ ዝቲ፡

"God upon which He sitteth. [p. 141] Beneath "this throne is the river, which is the Water of "Life, and angels with four faces[1] bear up the "throne. Now one of them hath the face of an "ox, another the face of a lion, another the face "of an eagle, and another the face of a man; and "they pay homage to God Almighty, the glorious "God, Who sitteth above them. Angels,[2] and "Archangels, and Dominions, and Thrones, and "Cherubim,[3] who have many eyes and wings, sur-"round Him and fall prostrate in praise before "Him, and they sing hymns of praise to His Name "and to His Majesty, and they are obedient mes-"sengers of His will by day and by night; these "are the hosts of angels, shining beings, who sing "praises to God in a speech which none but they "know. And besides these hosts there are the "angels who have fallen into the darkness, that is "to say the hosts of Sâṭnâêl, the wicked one and "liar, who deceived thy father Adam, and caused "him to be driven out from Paradise. Beyond "this darkness there are seventy countries wherein

The water of life.

The hosts of heaven.

Seventy dark lands.

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[1] Read ፬ቱ ፡ ገጾ ፡? This statement is based upon the passage, "As for the likeness of their faces, they had the face of a man; and they four had the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four had also the face of an eagle" Ezekiel i. 10.

[2] On the nine classes of angels, which are divided into three orders, upper, middle, and lower, see Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 9.

[3] Compare Ezekiel i. 11; x. 12; Isaiah vi. 2; Revelation iv. 6, 8.

"the darkness is deeper than in this, and the "length [of the journey through them] is five "hundred years; and beyond these countries are "seventy countries of cold, similar in extent [to "the dark countries], and there are others of fire "also, similar in extent. Beyond all these are the "angels which keep fast hold upon the earth and "upon the seas that they move not away out of "their sight, and if it were not for this mountain "which serveth for a protection between myself "and those who bear the Throne, the fire[1] of their "brightness would consume me. For they are

Fiery angels.

"compounded of divine fire, and in the midst of "them is a secret place wherein are darkness, and "cold, and fire, and but for this the fire of the "rays of their light and the glory of God the "Creator would consume me." And thou, O man, hast thou never heard the words of the prophets and their prophecies concerning His advent in the world, which say, "He Whom the earth cannot "endure, if He but look thereat, shall by [His] "grace [p. 142] send His Word, and shall become "mortal and shall put on the flesh of man, and "all men shall see the power of the divine glory "of God in the last days"?[2]

And it came to pass that, when the angel had spoken to the Two-horned of that which should be, and of what had been in the world, his soul

[1] Read እምውዓየሬ ፡

[2] Compare Isaiah xl. 5; Psalm civ. 32.

became like nothing, and he fell down, and his heart became black by reason of what he had seen and heard. Then the Two-horned[1] asked the angel a second time, saying, "Why dost thou "keep fast hold upon this mountain? Is it that "it desireth to leap out of thy hands?" The angel said unto him, "How many times must I tell thee "that the creation of the earth belongeth unto "God Almighty? The throne of God is placed "upon the waters,[2] and the Spirit of God hovereth "over them. God created the heavens, and exalted "Himself above them—to Him be glory! and He "created us, the angels, out of fire and light, and "afterwards He ascended into heaven and took

God's throne set on water.

Creation of angels and of man.

[1] Read **ዘ፪ኤ** ፡

[2] According to Muḥammadan tradition the first thing which God created was water, and the divine throne rests thereon فكان عرشه على آلماء; from the water arose a mist, out of which He made the heavens. He next dried up the water and turned it into solid earth, which He divided into seven parts. The earth was placed on a fish, both the fish and the water were set upon the rocks, the rocks were set upon an angel's back, the angel was set upon a rock, and the rock upon the wind. The movements of the fish make the earth shake, and God set mountains upon it that it might keep firm. The vapour which God made into heaven He divided into seven parts. The seventh heaven is of fire, wherein live the angels who sing praises to God, their heads are beneath the throne, but do not touch it, and the soles of their feet rest on the earth. The distance between the throne and the earth would require five hundred years to traverse. Under the throne is a sea, whence floweth subsistence for all living creatures. See Masʿûdî, tom. i. p. 47. ff.

"His seat upon His throne of glory. Then He "commanded one of His angels[1] to bring unto Him "dust from [all] the four corners of the world, and "out of it He created a man, that is[2] to say, thy "father Adam. And He made for him a garden, "and placed him in it to dwell on the borders of it "and He created for him a woman out of a bone "from his side that she might be a helpmeet [for "him]. And He gave him commandments, but he "disobeyed [them], and He drove him out of "Paradise and made him to dwell in a strange "land, the name of which was Alexandria; now it "was a land which shook and quaked by reason "of the great quantity of water which was therein.[3] "And it came to pass that God saw this, and when "the angels, too, looked at the land [and saw] "that it shook and quaked, they spake unto Him,

Creation of Eve.

Adam dwelt in Alexandria.

[1] Gabriel and Michael were first sent to bring clay from the earth with which God might fashion man, but when the earth appealed to God for help they returned empty. At length the angel of Death went, and being deaf to the earth's entreaties, brought back to God red, black, and white earths, of which the Almighty made the ancestors of the races of different colours. See Masʿûdî, tom i. p. 52; Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 16; Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, pp. 3, 4.

[2] Read ዘውእቱ ፡

[3] The allusion here seems to be to the statement that when Alexander came to the site where he afterwards built his city he found all the canals and watercourses leading to the sea choked, except two; all the streets and open spaces of the city were thus destroyed. See Müller, p. 32, note 14; Budge, *Alexander*, p. 39.

"saying, 'O Lord God, of the creatures which Thou "hast made by Thy power, which is able to dwell "on this land which quaketh and [p. 143] shaketh "like unto this?' Now when God heard this He "spake with His blessed and holy voice, and we "were all terrified thereat exceedingly, and we fell "upon our faces and looked at the earth, and be-"hold He had made this mountain to surround the "ends of the earth; and straightway He fixed it "firmly so that it might not be moved. This "mountain is the father of all the mountains which "are upon the earth, and the glorious God estab-"lished for it roots and outlets, and from it all "mountains grow into being. All the mountains "which thou seest, and the stones, and the rivers, "are subject unto God Almighty, but they derive "their origin from[1] this mountain, even as the origin "of the children of Adam is derived from their "father Adam. And God in His strength and might "hath given unto me power and might, such "as He hath not given unto any other of the "angels who have care and charge over the "earth, for He hath ordered me to hold fast this "mountain which surroundeth the whole earth that "man may neither move it nor sink it into the "ground, and He, the glorious God, holdeth it "fast by His power and by His creative voice. "And, moreover, observe, O man, that He hath "made all the mountains which are in the world

The parent mountain.

[1] Read ኀበ ፡

"to come into being from this mountain and from "the roots thereof. And I tell thee that, when "God desireth to destroy the earth, together with "those which are therein, He will pluck up this "mountain by the roots, and when He doeth this "the earth will be shaken, and those that are therein "will perish; and if it were not for the punishment "which shall come upon the world and the terrible "death which ye shall die therein, ye should come "into this world and [stay there] until God Al-"mighty took away your life from you, even as if "ye desired some other punishment."

Then God, may He be blessed and exalted! put it into the heart of the angel to [p. 144] call Alexander "Two-horned," and when the angel had called him by this name Alexander grieved exceedingly, for he thought that he was cursing him thereby, and he wept and lifted up his heart to God the Highest. And the angel said unto him, "What is it that maketh thee to weep?" And Alexander said to him, "Thou didst call me by "the name 'Two-horned,' but my name is Alexander, "the son of the Greek, and the servant of the "servants of the glorious God, and I thought[1] that "thou hadst cursed me by calling me by this name." The angel spake unto him, saying, "O man, I did "not curse thee, I only called thee by the [name] "by which thou and the works which thou doest "are known. Thou hast come unto me, and I

The name Two-horned.

[1] Read ወሐለይኩ ፡ ከመ ፡

"praise thee because, from the east to the west, "[the whole earth] hath been given unto thee; but "it is the glorious God Who hath given thee "dominion [over it], and it hath not come to pass "by [thine own] strength."

And the angel continued to speak unto him instructingly, saying, "The glorious God hath called "thee by this name, which is the name of thy "actions; hearken and understand that which I "shall say unto thee. When thou seest an earth-"quake in one country and not in another, then "know that God hath commanded this mountain "to make that country to shake and quake by "means of one of the roots which belong to the "mountain. And it is thus with the members of "a man's body, for when one of them suffereth "pain the others do not suffer with it, and similarly "the earthquake which is in one country shall "not be in all the earth; for when the whole earth "shall quake then shall it be destroyed, together "with all those that are therein. And I say unto "thee, O thou Two-horned, that the[1] bitter water "and the sweet water which flow forth from the "earth, and from this very country, are one, for "they proceed from this mountain [p. 145]. And "God Almighty, to Whom belong glory and power, "hath placed in its bowels sweet and bitter, and "He hath set in its bowels water, even as He "hath placed in each tree the fruit which be-

The angel continues to address Alexander.

[1] Read ዝንቱ ፡

"longeth thereunto, and in the children of Adam "the nature which belongeth to each. Know this, "O Two-horned."

Then the Two-horned again asked the angel, saying, "Do the righteous pass by this mountain "when they go to the throne of God, the Merciful?" The angel said, "There is neither door nor road "therein, and none can travel beyond this mountain, "neither from our side[1] nor from thine." And the Two-horned said unto the angel, "I desire thee "to tell me the meaning of the words, The "sun rises beyond it? moreover, who hath been "there and seen it?" The angel answered and said unto him, "O Two-horned,[2] know that among "all mountains there is none which is greater "than this, and that God maketh all mountains to "spring from it. And I tell thee that this mountain "towereth up into heaven to a height of eighty "thousand stadia, and no man is able to ascend "to the top thereof, and that if any man were to "scale the top he would either be consumed by "the flames of the sun, or he would suffer (?) until "he perished therein. For the top of the mountain "reacheth unto [the end of?] the first heaven, the "heaven of this world, and at the base it reacheth "unto the seventh earth, and the mountain itself "encircleth all the world like a ring. And had it "not been that God Almighty in His might hath "given me this power which I have, I should not

The trackless mountain.

Its height.

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[1] Read ወኢለነኒ፡ [2] The MS. has አቅርኒሁ፡

"have been able to hold this mountain as I stand "in heaven, and thou wouldst not have been able "to stand on the waters, or dost thou, peradven-"ture, imagine that thou art standing on dry land?"

And it came to pass that when the angel had said these things, the Two-horned was terrified exceedingly, and he meditated doubtfully concerning [**p. 146**] the water, and he thrust his foot down into it, and he swallowed some of it, and wished to plunge into it, and he praised God and cried out to Him to consume him. Then the angel spake unto him, saying, "O man, why dost "thou doubt concerning that which God, in His "greatness, hath created? Behold thou mayest "plunge into the waves of this sea [if thou wishest], "but cry out to God Almighty, the glorious One, "to deliver thee out of this place, for there is "nothing which can deliver thee with God Almighty "except trust and faith [in Him]". So the Two-horned cried out to the glorious God, and he paid homage unto Him, and made supplication unto Him; and God gave him peace of mind, and trust [in Him], and He stablished him in that place, and He made it to be like unto dry land.

Alexander's doubt.

Then the Two-horned said unto the angel, "Tell "me, what wonderful things hast thou seen with "the Most High?" The angel saith unto him, "I have seen[1] [one] great and wonderful thing, "and greater than it I never saw anything. God

The angel describes a miracle.

[1] Read ርኢኩ፡

"Almighty, may He be exalted and may He be "blessed! stretched out his hand and took the "whole universe in the palm thereof, the heavens, "and the earth, and things terrestrial, and those "who bear up [the heavens], and the angels, and "men, and beasts, and living creatures, and the "dead, and the light, and the darkness; all creation "[lay] in the palm of His hand. And I could see "that they were not to Him heavier to bear than "is a mustard-seed in the hand of a man." And the Two-horned said unto him, "They would not "be of any weight to Him, and to Him the matter "would not be difficult."

Gog and Magog.

And again the Two-horned asked the angel, saying, "Tell me concerning this mountain which "I have left behind me." And the angel answered, "In the mountain which thou hast left behind thee "there is no road whatever, but it is much smaller "than that which is between thee and Yâgûg (Gog) "and Mâgûg (Magog), for God Almighty hath [p. 147] "placed it as a gate (*or* door) in the dry land; "now the mighty God did this by His power "before ever thou didst shut the gate upon them. "Take heed, then, that thou boastest not thyself "because of what thou hast done, and that thou "dost not ponder in thy heart and say that thou "hast done this thing by thine own power, for if "thou thinkest thus God Almighty will give orders "concerning thee and concerning the building which "thou hast built, and which is a small thing among "the things which He hath created, and He will

The Iron Gate to be thrown down.

"break it to pieces quickly, in the twinkling of "an eye; know thou this, O Two-horned, and "believe in Him."

And again the Two-horned asked the angel, saying, "Is there here with thee any one who "knoweth [the difference between] day and night?" And the angel answered, "We have not such an "one with us, but such beings exist among the "children of Adam who were created out of the "dust of the earth, and who will be gathered "[again] thereunto; with us, however, no such "being liveth." Thus the angel answered every question which the Two-horned asked of him.

The angel advises Alexander to return.

Then the angel spake unto him, saying, "Turn "thee back to thy friends, for they seek thee, and "it shall be better both for thee and for them if "thou goest to them." The Two-horned said unto him, "O thou angel of God Almighty, give unto me "thy commandment, wherein confidence and belief "in God, the Highest, may be found." The angel said unto him, "Thou art not able [to hear] this." The Two-horned said, "God Almighty will give "me understanding [to do so]." The angel said unto him, "When thou goest on thy way take no "thought for the morrow, for God, the Highest, "will bring thy food to thee each day; now this "is a command which is new and old.[1] When "thou speakest be not puffed up, and be not grieved "by reason of what is given unto another;[2] make

[1] Compare Leviticus xxii. 30; St. Matthew vi. 34.

[2] Read ለበዕድ ።

"thy mind happy[1] in God, the Most High, and "lay thy hand upon thy heart, and know what is "meet and right. Whatsoever thou [p. 148] wishest "to be done to thyself, that do for thy neighbour, "and what thou hatest, that do not to thy neigh-"bour. If any man doeth harm unto thee, do not "harm unto him in return, pay back that which "is good unto him that hath done evil unto thee. "Turn thou away from wrath, for the Devil can "overcome men only by anger, and it is only by "anger and by evil acts that he can enter into "them, and he can only fulfil his will upon the "children of Adam by all manner of temptations "[of these kinds]. It is meet and right that thou "shouldst drive him[2] away from thee, and keep "him afar off by penitence and by the command "of God Almighty; and abide in the command-"ment of God, and in all thy labours fall not into "sin, for if thou errest thou wilt come into sin. "Moreover, judge those that are near and those "that are afar off, but judge not every one that "hath power and might. And know that when "thou departest from me God Almighty will help "thee, and He will bring thee back to thy friends "without toil, even as toil hath not come upon "thee[3] in the beginning of thy labours."

He exhorts Alexander.

Then the Two-horned said unto him, "I would "that my habitation might be by myself. I see

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[1] Read ወኢሡኒ ፡ [2] Read ትስደዶ ፡
[3] Read ኢረኩበከ ፡

"that thou wilt help me when I depart from thee. "Moreover, I desire thee to give me of thine own "food to eat on the way, for I have twelve days "and twelve nights to journey, and I have eaten "nothing." The angel said unto him, "Go to thine "own place, for thou art not able to eat here." The Two-horned said unto him, "I wished thee "to give me [to eat] of thine own food, for be-"hold, thou hast already given unto me spiritual "food, and of the food of the body there is still "some left unto me."

Alexander asks for food.

And it came to pass that when the angel heard these words from him, he stretched out his hand to the top of the mountain and took therefrom the similitude of a bunch of grapes, and he gave them unto the Two-horned, saying, "Keep these "with thee, and when thou comest to thy friends, "[p. 149] whom thou wilt find fasting and hungry, "give unto each of them one grape, for this bunch "will never come to an end if thou dost not mingle "other kind of food therewith.[1]" Then the Two-

The angel gives him a bunch of grapes.

[1] In an Arabic Life of Alexander published by Lidzbarski (Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. viii, p. 303) we again meet this story. The angel tells Alexander to go back and, without being asked, gives him a bunch of grapes for provision by the way, ordering him at the same time to give some of the grapes to the soldiers, for they will enable them to reach the country of men and of genii ارجع فليس لك مزيد وخذ هذا يا ذا القرنيين فأعطاه عنقودًا من عنب ثم قال له كل منه يا ذا القرنين ولتاكل عساكرك فانّ لكم فيه آية وهو يبلّغكم الى ارض الانس والجنّ. According to Masʿûdî, tom. i. p. 268, 'Amrân, the son of Jâbir, went up the Nile to its source, and

horned spake to the angel, saying, "How do thy "prayers and thy petitions come unto the Lord "thy God?" And it came to pass that when the angel heard these words from him he wept with a great weeping. And the Two-horned said unto him, "O angel of God, what maketh thee to weep?" The angel said unto him, "Our prayers are not "like unto your prayers, and our supplications are "not like unto your supplications, for our God is "pleased [to grant] but a few of your requests. "And as for us there are some angels in the "heavens who stand always on their feet, and "who never sit down [to these all requests are "granted]. And moreover, God Almighty hath, "in heaven, angels who worship before Him with "bowed heads which they never lift up. And "again, He hath angels who watch with their eyes "the divine worship, and their eyes never close at "any time. And again, He hath in heaven com-"panies of angels which praise Him, some in the "sea of snow, some in the sea of light, some in

Various kinds of angels.

crossed the sea on the back of a beast hanging on to its hair; the monster was of enormous size, and as he moved along ʾAmrân was enabled to see the stream of the Nile flowing from Paradise and from the golden palaces thereof. The king of that region, like Alexander's angel, gave him a bunch of grapes, واعطاه الملك العنقود, and he returned to the man who had seen him go to tell him how to ascend the Nile, but he found him dead. Afterwards Iblis joined himself to ʾAmrân and his bunch of grapes وخبر ابليس معه والعنقود والعنب.

"the sea of fire, and some in the sea of ice; and "these never cease from crying, Holy, Holy, Holy, "and from praising Him."

And it came to pass that when the Two-horned heard this, he wept with an exceedingly great weeping, and he cried, "Glory and praise be unto "Thee, O my God and Lord, for great are Thy "power and dominion, and we are abjects and of "no account whatsoever in the presence of Thy "praise." The angel said unto him, "What maketh "thee to weep?" The Two-horned said, "I desire "to make a petition unto my God for a thing "which no one hath asked before me." The angel "[p. 150] said unto him, "Dost thou desire this?" And he said "Yea." The angel said unto him, "I will tell thee of something whereby thou mayest "live and not die." And the Two-horned said, "Tell me." The angel said unto him, "God Al-"mighty hath in the land of Arabia the blackness "of thick darkness wherein is hidden the store-"house of His knowledge. There, too, is the "fountain of water which is called the 'Water of "Life,' and whosoever drinketh therefrom but one "drop shall never die. By drinking this water a man "shall attain unto the knowledge of God Almighty, "which no one before him hath attained, and "he shall fly through the heavens, even as the "angels fly, and he shall abide for ever, even until "he crave for death from his God." The Two-horned said unto him, "In which quarter of the "earth is this fountain of water?" And the angel

Alexander's humility.

The Water of Life.

said unto him, "I know not. But ask of the men "who are heirs of the knowledge thereof and who "have read books, peradventure they have the "knowledge by them."

Alexander rejoins his troops.

Now, having asked the angel these things, the Two-horned departed and returned to his followers, and returning he passed over that same water and through the darkness until he came to the light of the sun, and to that place and to the little mountain which was between him and between Yâgûg (Gog) and Mâgûg (Magog). So the Two-horned marched on foot to his followers, and when his friends saw him they rejoiced in him, for they thought that he had been devoured in the desert.

The Greeks lack food.

Now while they were tarrying there behold their victuals came to an end, and they had nothing to eat, and their beasts lacked fodder, and they suffered sorely from famine. And when they saw the Two-horned they cried out with a mighty voice, saying, [p. 151] "O king, thou Two-horned one, "help us, for behold we and our animals are "perishing of thirst and hunger; hadst thou de-"layed in coming unto us one day longer we all "should have died of hunger." Then the Two-horned called them and gathered them all together, and they thought that Alexander had done this because he wished to count them; and he gave

Alexander feeds them with the miraculous grapes.

unto each of them a grape from the bunch [which the angel had given to him]. And it came to pass that as he cut one grape from the bunch, another grew up in the place thereof; thus he

gave unto all his soldiers and troops[1] until they and their beasts were satisfied. And he said unto them, "Are ye filled?" and they answered him, saying, "Yea, O king." Then the Two-horned said unto them, "Behold, ye have eaten of the "bread of angels, even as the prophet David saith "in the seventy-seventh Psalm,[2] "Man did eat the "bread of His angels."

Alexander quotes Scripture.

Now there was among Alexander's friends a certain man who was a general, and who was set over many men, and he was called El-khiḍr;[3] and he was a trusted man. And when the sages who were skilled in the lore of books had been gathered together by him he spake unto them, saying, "Have ye not read in your writings, that to God "belongeth a place of darkness in the earth, wherein "is a secret place, the knowledge of which is hidden, "and that the Well, which is called the 'Well of Life',

El-khiḍr.

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[1] Read ወለተዐይንቱ ፡ [2] Psalm lxxviii. 25.

[3] Some say that El-khiḍr was the son of Malkân, son of Fâlaʿ, son of ʿAbir, son of Shaliḥ, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah, and others identify him with Khiḍrûn who was descended from Abraham, and say that he lived in the time of Moses. Tradition says that he found out the Water of Life, and that having drunk therefrom he became immortal, and that this name El-khiḍr الخضر was given to him to indicate his flourishing and continual youth. See Masûdî, tom. i. p. 92; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, Art. *Khedher*. On El-khiḍr-Moses see the Arabic text published by Lidzbarski in Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. viii. p. 286 ff. On the famous cave of El-khiḍr at Serendib see Ibn-Baṭûṭa, ed. Defrémery, tom. iv. pp. 181, 182.

"is also therein?" The sages said unto him, "We "do not know this." And he repeated his words to them, and they replied unto him, "We do not "know it." And again he spake his words a third time to them, and they replied unto him, "We do "not know it."

Mâṭûn the sage.

And it came to pass that there was a certain sage there among them who had not uttered a word with the others, and he was called Mâṭûn, and the Two-horned said unto him, "O Mâṭûn, "hast thou any knowledge of this darkness and of "this Well of the water of Life?" [p. 152] And he replied, "Yea, I will tell thee truly the history "thereof." And the Two-horned said to him,[1] "Tell [it] to me." And Mâṭûn said unto him, "I "have read in the 'Book of Life,' that is to say, "the 'Book of Creation,' which is called 'El-mûsîḳâ,' "that is to say, the 'Book of the Law of the "Histories of Books,' that God Almighty hath [a "place] of darkness[2] on the earth, the knowledge "of which is hidden, and wherein[3] is the water "which is called the 'Well of the Water of Life.'" The Two-horned said unto him, "In which quarter "of the world is it?" And Mâṭûn replied, "It lieth "nigh unto the right side of the sun when it riseth." Now when Mâṭûn had said this, the Two-horned spake, saying, "O men, behold the glorious God

The Well of Life.

[1] Read ወይቤሎ ፡ ዘ፪ኤ ፡

[2] Compare Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 39.

[3] Read ወውስቴታ ፡

"hath granted me to see this darkness, and to "explore it, and to behold the Water of Life." And Mâṭûn the sage said unto him, "Behold, thou "shalt find it, and thou shalt see therein the "wonderful things of God; but now this is a "hard thing to take upon thyself. Moreover, if "thou shouldst not attain unto the Well of the "Water of Life weary not thyself, for I fear "for thee lest thou attain it not;" but his words did not offend the Two-horned. This is the manner of the darkness into which the Two-horned came.

Alexander sets out for the Well of Life.

And it came to pass that when the Two-horned had made ready to march into the darkness, he commanded the men to go with him for many days, and it is said that they travelled for two years until, at length, they arrived at [a place] of darkness, where the blackness is not like unto the darkness of night, but is like unto the mists and clouds which descend at the break of day; and having gone a great distance into the darkness, his troops were weary and exhausted. And behold they came to a large stone statue [several] cubits high, and [p. 153] one of its hands was raised up to heaven, and the other [pointed] to the earth. Then the Two-horned cried unto the wise men, saying, "What say ye concerning this statue, "and what is the interpretation thereof?" They said unto him, "This is a sign unto thyself. And "we tell thee, O king, that there is nothing beyond "this statue except the heavens; and God Al-

He finds a statue.

"mighty knoweth."[1] Then the Two-horned went on to the statue together with his army, and he spake unto them, saying, "Behold, O men, inas-"much as God Almighty, may He be blessed, and "may He be exalted! hath put it into my heart "to go into the darkness I will never stop until "I have reached the end thereof.[2] Tell me which "is the strongest beast[3] [wherewith to march "therein]." And they said unto him, "A young "horse." And he spake unto them again, saying, "Which beast is the swiftest in its course?" And they said, "The she-camel." Then the Two-horned chose ten thousand wise men who were skilled in the lore of books [to go with him], and he left behind him three companies of his soldiers, now in each company there were ten thousand men, and he ordered them to abide in their places until he came again to them. And he commanded them to dwell there for ten years, without going away, "And", said he, "if I do not return at the "end of this time, then depart in peace to your "places; and behold, God Almighty will protect "me and you."

Mâṭûn the sage.

Now the man Mâṭûn was wise and understanding, and he feared God Almighty greatly, and he was

[1] *I. e.*, "God only knoweth", words frequently added to a statement when the maker of it is assuming something.

[2] Compare Πολλὰ δὲ οἱ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνεβουλεύσαντο ὑποστρέψαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἠβουλήθη θέλων ἰδεῖν τὸ τέλος τῆς γῆς (Müller, p. 89, col. 1).

[3] Read **እምእንስሳ ፡**

humble, and he watched himself diligently[1] lest he should hide the knowledge of God Almighty, and his prayers ascended to Him like sweet incense, and he was like one of the Prophets in his day, and he was captain over thirty thousand horsemen, and to him the Two-horned cried, saying, "March "thou before me by the [p. 154] blessing and help "of God Almighty;" and he took some of the ten thousand men and did as the Two-horned had commanded him. And it came to pass that when he was ready to go he spake unto the Two-horned,[2] saying, "O king, behold thou hast com-"manded me to march intothis [place of] darkness, "which none of us have ever seen before, and we "know not if our beasts will ever win through it, "what shall I do if I stray from my friends and "lose my way?" The king said[3] unto him, "Take "with thee this stone, and if thou strayest or "losest thy path, cast this down before thee, and "it[4] shall give light on the path of each of thy "men." Now this stone is one of the jewels which our father Adam brought from Paradise when he came forth therefrom. So Mâṭûn, that is to say El-Khiḍr, took the stone and went forward on his journey; and when he had departed from that place the Two-horned encamped.

The king gives him a stone.

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[1] Read ወያተግሃ : [2] Read ይቤሎ :
[3] Read ወይሎቤ : [4] Read ታበርሀ :
[5] In an Arabic history (Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*) an angel gives a stone like an egg to Alexander فاعطاه حجرًا مثل البيضة

And it came to pass that Mâṭûn[1] continued to journey on for a space of thirty days and thirty nights, and he found that he had marched a long distance, and that he had wandered out of his path, and he brought forth the stone, and it lightened his way by its rays even as Alexander had told him. And as he was journeying on, behold, he came to the Well of the Water of Life, and as soon as he saw it he knew that it was the Well of the Water of Life, and he went down to it. Now, behold, he was very hungry, and he had with him a dried fish, and he went down with it to the water that he might wash it therein and might satisfy his hunger; and behold, as soon as the fish entered the water it swam away.[2] And it came to pass that when Mâṭûn, that is to say El-khiḍr, saw this, he stripped off his clothes, and he went down into the water

The stone lights Mâṭûn's way.

A fish comes to life.

[1] The identification of Mâṭûn with El-khiḍr simplifies the narrative.

[2] In the Greek Andreas, the cook, goes to prepare the fish for Alexander who is hungry, but when he had dipped the fish in the water a few times it came to life, and swam away (Müller, p. 90, col. 2). It is said that when God sent Moses to find El-khiḍr He told him to take with him a fish in a basket, and that when he missed the fish that place would be the spot where El-khiḍr lived. Moses forgot all about the fish, and Joshua, his servant, omitted to tell him that the fish had disappeared; it is said that the fish, which was roasted, leapt out of the basket into the sea while Moses was asleep, and that as soon as it touched the water it swam away.

after the fish, and he found it to be alive in the water, having remained formerly a dried up thing therein. And Mâṭûn, that is to say El-khiḍr, washed himself in the water, and he plunged into it three times, and each time he said, "In the "name of the Lord God of Hosts, the Holy One." And he drank of the water, and when he had gone up therefrom, behold, [p. 155] his hunger was appeased and he desired no food, and then he knew that it was the well of the Water of Life for which the Two-horned sought. And after he had gone up out of the water he drove out of his heart every worldly care, and he rose up and prayed, and behold, all the flesh of his body had become bluish green, and his garments likewise become bluish green, and by reason of this he was called "El-khiḍr", that is to say "Green." And as he prayed and gave praise [unto God] he was not able to distinguish between the day and the night by reason of the exceedingly black darkness. And behold one of the angels of God Almighty,[1] to whose care was entrusted the Well of the Water of Life, stood before him, and spake unto him, saying, "O man, how didst thou come hither? "Knowest thou not that we angels who have charge "over this Well are seventy thousand in number?" And El-khiḍr[2] said, "O angel, it was my Lord "Who led me here." Then the angel again cried

The Water of Life.

Origin of the name El-khiḍr.

The angel of the Well of Life.

[1] Read መልአክ ፡ እም ፡ መላእክተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡
[2] Read እልክድር ፡ ለመልአክ ፡

out unto El-khiḍr, and said to him, "O wicked "and sinful man, thou hast arrived at this Well "because thou hast a good disposition towards "thy God." And El-khiḍr said into him, "My "Lord led[1] me to this Well." And the angel cried out to him again, saying, "O El-khiḍr, unless thou "hadst great honour in the sight of thy God, thou "wouldst never have won unto this Well, and thou "wouldst neither have drunk of its waters, nor "have washed therein. Ask now a request from "thy God Who loveth the seventy thousand men "[who are with thee], and He will give it unto "thee, and if thou makest thy entreaty unto Him "He will receive thee." And he said to him, "O "angel, behold, inasmuch as thou hast given me "counsel in the matter of this thing, I have it in "my mind to ask yet another thing, and I will "tell thee what it is, and if it be that thou wilt "graciously counsel me then I shall receive it, and "having had it in my mind I will do it." The angel said unto him, "What is this which thou "hast in thy mind to ask?" And El-khiḍr said unto him, "O my lord and master, I entreat thee "to forgive the army of the king, and this would "be a thing meet for [p. 156] the soldiers thereof, for "the Greek nation is a blessed people who are pure "in heart. And, behold, this nation performeth the "command of its God, and it waxeth strong thereby, "and it shall become an acceptable nation; and, be-

Mâtûn asks forgiveness for Alexander's army.

[1] Read ሰሐኅበኒ፡

"hold, I entreat thee by thyself, and I tell thee, more-"over, that victory over their enemies shall be theirs "for ever." The angel said, "Behold, thou wouldst "ask a great thing."

Then El-khiḍr took the stone (*or* gem), and returned to his friends, but he did not tell them what he had seen of the Well [of the Water of Life]. And it came to pass that as the Two-horned was coming along the road which El-khiḍr had trodden, he turned out of the right path away from the Well of the Water [of Life]. And as he was searching for the Well of the Water of Life, behold he saw the stone shining [in the darkness]; now it had two eyes which sent forth rays of light.[1] Then the Two-horned cried out unto the wise men, and he spake unto them, saying, "Think "ye that there be anything [heavier] than [this]

Mâtûn and Alexander meet.

[1] This story is found in the Arabic text of Lidzbarski (*Zeitschrift*, tom. VIII. p. 304). Alexander weighed the stone against every other substance on the earth, but it outweighed them all, and finally asked El-khiḍr if he understood the signification of the stone. El-khiḍr said Yes, it is typical of thine eye, for nothing in this world satisfies it, just as nothing on earth will outweigh this stone. Thus saying he stretched out his hand and took a handful of dust, and threw it in one pan of the scales, putting the gem in the other; the dust went down, and the gem kicked the beam. El-khiḍr then said, "This is the type of thine eye which nothing but dust will satisfy" ومدّ يده فأخذ قبصة مِن تراب فجعلها فى كِفّهِ وجعل الحجر فى الكِفّة الأحرى فرجح عليه التراب وخّف الحجر قال له الخضر علته السلام هذه عيناك لا يملأها الا التراب وهو الغالب عليها

"stone?" Now the stone was weighed against every kind of substance, and there was nothing which balanced it. And when he had taken a handful of dust from the wise men he weighed it, and then weighed the stone against the dust, and behold, the dust was heavier than the stone. And the wise men said, "Inasmuch as the "stone is large it is a type of the punishment of "God Almighty [which shall come] upon thee, for "thou art never satisfied, and nothing filleth "the eye of a man except[1] dust. If two mountains, "[the one] of gold and [the other] of silver, were "to be given to thee thou wouldst seek for a "third." Then was the Two-horned terrified at the parable, and he gave up the search and returned to his place; and he and his troops continued to march, for they had come forth [again] into the light, which however was like neither that of the sun nor that of the moon, but between the two.

The parable of the gem.

And behold, they arrived at a beautiful country in which a palace had been built, and the Two-horned was terrified and thought that [p. 157] the Well[2] of the Water of Life was therein; and having come into the palace the Two-horned found a chamber inlaid and ornamented with sapphires, and emeralds, and jacinths. And he came to a door in one of its sides, and he found an iron

The bird and the ring.

[1] Read ዘእንበለ ፡

[2] Read ዓይን ፡

ring going round about the whole chamber, and behold, he found also a bird[1] which was like unto a bird of prey, and which used to take hold of the ring [of iron] with his beak. And it came to pass that when the bird heard the sound of the Two-horned, he said, "Who is he that hath dared "us, and hath come into our place?" And the Two-horned said unto him, "It is I". And the bird said unto him, "Hath not the great and glorious "God holpen thee? And is it not He Who hath "given thee [the earth] from the east even unto "the west, until at length thou hast journeyed and "hast come hither to us?" The Two-horned said unto him, "Praise be unto God Almighty the Great. "Who can be satisfied with the marvellous things "of God? But who art thou, O bird, for I see "that thou art fettered by thy beak and that thou "hangest from inside this ring? And who art thou, "and what hast thou been? for in all my journey- "ings I have never seen anything like thee, nor "anything which resembled thee." The bird said unto him, "[O] Two-horned, put this [questioning] "away from thee, and enquire no further concern- "ing me, for what God Almighty pleaseth [to "reveal] to thee He will not reveal by another. "But I would ask of thee a question, and would "that thou didst tell me its answer." And the Two-horned said unto him, "Say whatsoever thou "wishest to say." The bird said unto him, "Are

Alexander converses with the bird.

[1] Compare Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 18.

"there many buildings (?) of stone on the earth?" And the Two-horned said "Yea". Then the bird rose up and swelled out its feathers, until it filled the [chamber of the] palace with its huge size, and spake again unto the Two-horned, saying, "Is there much fraud and guile [on the earth]?" And the Two-horned answered, "Yea". And again the bird said unto him, "Are there many false "swearings, and acts of injustice, [p. 158] and "bribes given in judgment, and much devouring "by usury on the earth?" And the Two-horned, answered, "Yea, very many." Then the bird rose up again and swelled out its feathers, and filled the [chamber of the] palace. And it came to pass that when the Two-horned saw what was above the bird, and what was below him, and his great size, he said unto him, "Now in the matter of these "questions which thou hast asked of me do these "things which thou hast mentioned take place by "the hand of a man from the land of the morning, "or shall they happen through him by the destiny "of his days, or shall they come to pass in his "days?" The bird answered and said unto him, "Do not some of these things exist on the earth this "day among those who know the glorious God, and "who call upon His name?" And the Two-horned said, "Yea, very many." Then the bird rose up and shook himself until three feathers fell from him. And the Two-horned said unto him, "Are "there any beings whom God loveth?" And the bird answered, "Yea, and behold He will come

The bird fills the chamber.

The bird drops three feathers.

"quickly." Then the bird turned [and rested] on the other foot, for he had been [standing on one], by reason of his size. Then the Two-horned said unto the bird, "Are men allowed to drink wine, "or is it forbidden to eat?" And he replied, "Nay, "but He will come quickly"; then the bird returned to his former condition. And the Two-horned spake unto him, saying, "I would that thou wouldst "give unto me some of thy food whereon I may "feed in my journeyings, for I have to journey a "distance of twelve days and twelve nights[1] without "having tasted any food whatsoever." The bird answered, "Go on, O man, for strength hath been given "unto thee to come hither without meat and without "drink, and it is still sufficient to bring thee unto "thy friends in safety." The Two-horned said unto the bird, "I will not leave thee until thou givest "me that which I am to eat." And the bird straightway stretched out its beak to the top of the mountain and reached unto him a bunch of grapes, and said unto him, "If thou art going to "return to thy followers watch well [p. 159] this "bunch of grapes, and feed thy soldiers upon them "when they are hungry, for it will neither perish "nor come to an end in any way whatsoever."

Alexander asks the bird for food.

The bird gives him a bunch of grapes.

And it came to pass that as he was marching forward on his way—now they were journeying together in a body on their road—behold, they heard beneath the hoofs of their beasts a sound

[1] Read ሊያሊዪሆሙ ፡

The Greeks carry away precious stones.

which rang out whenever the animals set their hoofs upon the earth. And the Two-horned said unto them, "Whosoever shall carry away some "of this ground shall suffer pain, and whosoever "taketh not of it shall suffer more"; and when he had spoken these words unto them, there were some who took some of it, and some who did not.[1] And it came to pass that when they came to their friends and they had looked at that which they had brought, behold it was the ore of crystals[2] and rubies; and those who had brought some were sorry because they had not brought more, and those who had not brought any were sorry because they had left it behind them.

The bunch of grapes feeds the army.

Now when the Two-horned came to his friends with the bunch of grapes, behold, he found that they were hungry with a mighty hunger, and he gave unto each of

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[1] Read ዘኢነሥኡ ፡

[2] In the Greek (Müller, p. 91, col. 1) this story runs: Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος .... ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντιόχῳ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπισημῆναι· Ἕκαστος ὃ βούλεται τῶν ὧδε ἀράτω, εἴτε λίθον εἴτε πηλὸν ἢ καὶ ξύλον. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξε τοῦτο ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ λῆρος ἐδόκει τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ὡς δὲ πορευόμενοι, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Φίλωνι· Κάτελθε τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ὃ ἐν τῇ χειρί σου τύχῃ ἂν ἀνάλαβε τοῦτο. Κατελθὼν δὲ ὁ Φίλων λίθον εὗρεν ὡς ἔοικε κοινὸν τῶν ἀχρήστων .... Πολλοὶ οὖν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς παρακειμένης ὕλης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔλαβον ἕκαστος ὃ εὗρεν .... Ὅτε οὖν ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ ἕτεροι στρατιῶται, καὶ ἀλλήλους θεασάμενοι εὗρον μαργαρίτας καὶ λίθους τιμῆς ἀξίους.

them a grape, and they ate and were abundantly satisfied.

And the Two-horned found in the stone a multitude of gems which were like unto the eyes of an ox, and of which no man knoweth the price. Then the Two-horned commanded them to set the stone in the earth, and they poured gold over it until it was as high as a man; and he took the gold and of some of it he made a crown for his head, and he set the stone therein for an ornament. Now the weight of this [crown] was two pounds (?), according to the weight of the Persian pound[1], and when the Two-horned wished to wear this crown, men lifted it on to his head upon the tops of spears. And they say that the eye of man never saw its like, either for size [or value], for it was made of gold, and jewels, and precious stones of great price.

Alexander's crown.

So the Two-horned, together with his soldiers, marched from that place, for [all] kings had [**p. 160**] submitted unto him, and [all] countries were subject unto him. And he journeyed from the east even unto the west, and he reached the mountains thereof, and he knew and comprehended the length and breadth of the earth, and how many mountains and seas there were in all the world which could be travelled over, and how many which were trackless. And he made himself small, and flew through the air on [the back of] an

[1] Read **በሊጥራ ፡**

He flies on an eagle's back through the air.

eagle,[1] and he arrived in the heights of the heavens, and he explored them, and he saw the east and the west thereof, and the beauties and the terrors thereof, and the stations of the birth and going forth of the stars, and he described thoroughly all these things in a great book which he called "The Book of the Works of the whole "World". And he had knowledge concerning the stars, and he marked out the limits of the earth

He writes a book on natural objects.

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 41 (Müller, p. 91, col. 2). Εἶτα ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἐκράτησε τὸ δόρυ ὡσεὶ πῆχυν τὸ μῆκος ἔχον ἐπάνῳ ἧπαρ. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναπτάντα τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ φαγεῖν τὸ ἧπαρ, ἀνῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ ἀέρι εἰς τὸ ὕψος. Ancient tradition asserts that Nimrod flew through the air by the aid of eagles (see above, p. 277), and Aelian [*De Nat. Animal.* XII. 21, ed. Didot, p. 210] states that the guards of the citadel of Babylon threw down to the ground a child who had been conceived and brought forth in secret, and who afterwards became known as Gilgamos, and that a keen-eyed eagle saw the child falling, and before it touched the ground the bird flew under it and received it on its back, and carried it away to a garden and laid it down gently. Οὐκοῦν ἀετὸς τὴν ἔτι τοῦ παιδὸς καταφορὰν ὀξύτατα ἰδών, πρὶν ἢ τῇ γῇ προσαραχθῆναι τὸ βρέφος, ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ νῶτα ὑπέβαλεν, καὶ κομίζει ἐς κῆπόν τινα, καὶ τίθησι πεφεισμένως εὖ μάλα. The mythical Babylonian hero Etanna was, like Alexander, borne on the back of an eagle through the air, and it is quite possible that this portion of the legend of Etanna has fastened on to the history of Alexander. See E. T. Harper, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie,* Bd. ii. p. 391, ff; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Bd. viii. pp. 266, 267; and Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamos,* p. 17.

and the boundaries thereof, and he marched through the darkness, and through [all] seas and lands, and attained unto the ends thereof. And God Almighty gave him such power over kings, and such help in the conquering of cities and countries as was never given unto any other man either before or after him; and he was faithful unto [his] kings, and he dealt graciously with them in his time, and he guarded well [his] flock, and he neither magnified himself nor exalted himself over men. But it becometh me not and it is better for me not to [attempt to] record his honour and glory.

Now the Two-horned remembered the evil nations which dwelt in the ends of the earth, and he spake unto his people, saying, "Help me with "your might until I[1] can place a wall between you "and them"; and he received them, and they helped him. Then he said unto them, "Bring hither to "me iron for smelting", and they brought it unto him, and he set up a mighty furnace between the two mountains, and he blew blasts upon the iron until it melted, and he made therefrom a gate which was very high and very wide. Then he ordered them also to bring him pitch, that is to say melted [p. 161] bitumen, and he boiled it until it became liquid in a furnace, after which he poured it upon the iron, and the two substances became one. Thus he shut in Yâgûg (Gog), and

The building of the iron gate.

Gog and Magog.

[1] Read በኃይልክሙ ፡

Mâgûg (Magog), and those that belonged unto them, that they might only move round about and go hither and thither in the lands which were theirs,[1] and that they might not go forth therefrom or be able to go up out from them to waste and ravage the lands beyond theirs. Now he did all this by the decree of the glorious God.

Alexander prays that he may see the Ocean.

And it came to pass that when the Two-horned arrived at the places where the sun rose and set, he saw the seventh heaven and the habitation thereof, and he set a double seal between the divine children of Adam and between Yâgûg (Gog) and Mâgûg (Magog), who are also the children of Adam, but who are like beasts. And he spake in his prayer to God, saying, "O my Lord and "God, great praise and glory be unto Thee, O "Thou Who art betwixt heaven and earth. O my "God, I give much thanks unto Thee, because I "have seen Thy wonders in Thy earth, and Thy "creation, and Thy country, and no man who "hath been before me hath seen, and no man who "shall come after me upon this earth shall see the "mountains, and the seas, and the darkness, and "the light [which I have seen]; and I have also "been to the mountain which is in the depths of "the sea, and I know it. And, O my God and "Lord, I long to know [where is] the sea which "goeth round about all the world, and what "wonders there are therein, that I may tell them

[1] Read በበይናቲ፡ሆሙ ፡

God grants this request.

"unto Thy creatures". Then God Almighty gave him this desire also, and He set [the knowledge thereof] in his heart.

Alexander takes ships and sets out.

And it came to pass that the Two-horned ordered his troops to march, and they prepared to go forth. And he took with him all such ships as were needful for them, and then he journeyed on until he came to the sea which lieth beyond the heavens and the earth, whereon no ship had ever sailed, and which no man whatsoever had at any time crossed; [p. 162] but God Almighty brought him safely until he came[1] to the sea and to the seven seas. Now when he flew through the air he took with him three eagles and their young. And after [he had passed] many days, and seasons, and years [in sailing] over[2] the waves of the sea, he sent forth an eagle which flew up into the air, and then[3] went on towards the sea; and the eagle found a resting-place and did not, therefore, return. And the Two-horned said unto his friends, "Go ye on";[4] and they journeyed on for many days. Then he sent forth a second

Three eagles sent forth.

eagle which flew up into the air, and then went on towards the sea, and it also found a resting-place and returned not. And the Two-horned said unto his friends, "Go ye on"; and they journeyed

[1] Read በጽሐ ፡ ኀበ ፡
[2] Read ሀለው ፡ ውስተ ፡
[3] Read አየር ፡ ወእምዝ ፡
[4] Read ሑሩ ፡ ወሑሩ ፡

on for many days. And again he sent forth a third eagle which flew up into the air, and after three days it returned and came into the ship, for the earth had appeared unto it; and the Two-horned said, "There should be a harbour here". Then he went into a cage of glass which was covered with asses' skins, and which had an opening that was closed with chains and rings, and he took with him such food as was needful, and placed it therein, and he took two of his friends with him. And he spake unto his troops, saying, "This shall be "an understanding between me and between you. "If I return unto you before the end of one hundred "nights, [well and good], but if I do not, then go "ye on your way [without me]"; thus he left his men, and God did not cast any of them away. Then, at the end of seventy nights, God commanded the angel who had charge over the sea, saying, "Everything which the Two-horned shall command "thee, hearken unto; and take him and deliver "him from all evil, and keep every evil thing away "from him, and everything which can terrify him "in the billows of the [p. 163] sea."

Alexander descends into the sea in a glass cage.

So the angel went unto the Two-horned with peace and goodwill. And Alexander said unto him, "Who art thou?" And the angel answered, "I am he who hath charge over the sea and "over the beasts thereof, from the beginning "even unto the end thereof." Now behold, the ark in which the Two-horned was sailing, was being destroyed, and the sides thereof were

Alexander converses with the angel of the sea.

being smashed by the waves[1] of the sea. And the angel said unto him, "If I were to withdraw "my care from thee for only the twinkling of an "eye, this ark would[2] be dashed in pieces by the "waves of the sea, and thou thyself wouldst perish." And the Two-horned was glad at his words. And again the angel said unto him, "Rejoice not until "thou, and I, and those who are with thee go up

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[1] Read እምልጉታት ፡

[2] According to the Greek (Müller, p. 89, col. 1) Alexander's chief object in constructing this ark was for pearl fishing: He made a large framework of iron, like a cage, wherein he placed a thick glass vessel, and in the bottom of the vessel was a hole large enough for the hand to go through. This opening was closed from inside, so that when the whole apparatus was submerged, the traveller might be able to open it quickly, and putting his hand through might draw in whatever he saw on the ground. To the cage he attached a chain 200 cubits long, and he ordered his men in the ship not to draw him up from the sea unless the chain was set in motion. Ὅθεν ὑπενόησεν κλωβὸν σιδηροῦν γενέσθαι μέγαν, ἔσωθεν δὲ τοῦ κλωβοῦ εἰσενεχθῆναι παμμεγέθη ὑέλινον πίθον, ἔχοντα τὸ πάχος σπιθαμὴν μίαν. Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρὸς ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τοῦ πίθου γενέσθαι τρυμαλιὰν ὡς χωρεῖν ἀνθρώπου χεῖρα. Βουλόμενος δὲ κατελθεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν τί ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἔχει κεκλεισμένην τὴν τρυμαλιὰν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ πυθμένι ἔσωθεν, ὅπως κατελθόντος αὐτοῦ δυνηθείη εὐθέως ἀνοίξας καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα διὰ τῆς τρυμαλιᾶς καὶ εὐθέως λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρακειμένης ψάμμου τὸ εὑρεθὲν ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τῆς τοιαύτης θαλάσσης, καὶ πάλιν εἰσενεγκεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ φράξαι τὴν τρυμαλιὰν .... Ἐκέλευσε δὲ γενέσθαι ἅλυσιν ὡσεὶ πηχῶν διακοσίων ἢ ὀργυιῶν, καὶ προσέταξε ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀνελκύσει αὐτὸν, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἡ ἅλυσις ταραχθῇ.

"from this sea in safety." And again the angel said unto him, "Dost thou wish that I should shew "thee some of the wonderful things which are in "the sea?" And the Two-horned said, "Yea, my "lord and messenger of God Almighty." Then the angel called unto a monster[1] [from the sea]. And it came up straightway and stood before him, and the angel said unto the Two-horned, "Art "thou watching this wonder?" And the monster went quite close to[2] the Two-horned, and bit the ark; and then Alexander sat for two days watching for its tail and hinder parts [to appear], and after two days it disappeared and went down from the ark. The angel said unto the Two-horned, "Hast thou "ever seen anything like unto this monster?" And he answered "Nay. The wonders of the glorious

The angel shews him the wonders of the deep.

[1] According to the Greek, when Alexander had descended 120 cubits, a fish smote the glass vessel, and his men in the ship drew him up; soon after he went down a second time, and again returned to the surface. When he had gone down a third time, and was about 200 cubits below the surface, he saw many fishes, and one mighty fish seized the glass vessel in his mouth, and carried him a mile away to the shore, at the same time dragging the ship and its crew of one hundred and fifty men behind him; when the fish came to the shore he cast the glass vessel from his mouth thereon: καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐλθὼν παμμεγεθέστατος ἰχθὺς ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ κλωβῷ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μακρόθεν τῶν πλοιαρίων μιλίου ἑνός . . . . . Φθάσας δὲ σὺν τῷ κλαβῷ ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι τὸν κλωβὸν ἀποτινάξας ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ξηράν.

[2] Literally, "between his hands".

"God are exceedingly wonderful." And again the angel called to another monster and commanded him to pass quite close to[1] the Two-horned; now he was as black as a cloud, and the Two-horned did not see his tail [come forth from the sea] until two days and two nights were ended.[2] The angel said unto him, "Hast thou ever "seen a monster like unto this, or any that was "greater than he?" And the Two-horned answered, "Nay, [p. 164] my lord." And the angel said unto him, "Who hath called thee to [the work] which "thou hast done? Hath not God Almighty made "thee to know that His marvellous and wonderful "things are exceedingly great? Or dost thou, "perhaps, desire to know His mysteries?" And the Two-horned said unto the angel, "O my "lord, inasmuch as my God hath given unto me "whatsoever is in the dry land, and in the sea, "and in the mountains, and in the darkness, I "desire to know what are His works in the sea." And the angel said unto him, "That which is in "the sea was not given unto thee." And it came to pass on the third day that the angel called another monster [from the sea], and he said unto him, "Pass thou by the Two-horned quickly, like "a flash of lightning"; and the monster rushed forward and passed him with swiftest speed, but the

Alexander's dispute with the angel.

A mighty monster of the deep.

[1] Literally, "between his hands".

[2] For the ocean monster which lived five hundred years, see Masʿûdî, tom. i. p. 268.

Two-horned did not see his hinder parts and tail until the end of three days and nights. Then the angel said unto the Two-horned, "How many days "ago is it since thou didst leave thy troops who "were with thee in the ship?" And he said to him, "Four days, but one hundred days will be "ended [before I return to them]." And the Two-horned bowed down and did homage to God Almighty in the heart of the sea, and [prayed] that He would lengthen his days until he should come whither he would be.[1] And the angel said unto him, "Lift[2] up thy head that thou mayest see "a wonderful thing," and he lifted[3] up his head, and behold he was nigh unto his troops who were in the ship. Then the Two-horned took pen and paper, and wrote an account of the wonders of the deep. Now when his friends saw him they rejoiced in him with an exceedingly great joy. And the Two-horned commanded his friends to bring the ship to the little sea whereon[4] men do sail; and he embarked with his soldiers in peace and in safety.

Alexander returns to his ship.

Then the Two-horned and they that were with him departed from that place to Babylon, singing praises unto God Almighty and returning thanks

He sets out for Babylon.

[1] We must understand that Alexander is still in the glass ark in the depths of the sea, and it would appear that the three monsters which he saw were seen by him during the three submersions of his wonderful diving-bell.

[2] Read አንሥእ ፡ [3] Read ወአንሥአ ፡

[4] Read በውስቴቱ ፡

unto Him as they went. And it came to pass that when he had come to Babylon [p. 165] he sought out the wonders which Solomon, the son of David, had made, and he went on until he had seen the city and its idols (?).

THE FIRST WONDER. Now this was a building in which was a shrine (?), one half of which was white, and the other half black. [And Solomon had made it] that he might be able by its means to find out those that were righteous,[1] and those that were sinners, and those that were thieves, and those that were murderers, and those who were guilty of iniquities; and it acted as the judge of them. And he used to take the transgressors, both men and women, and bring them into the shrine, and the form of the man who had transgressed used to appear in the dark half of the shrine; and Solomon used to pass such judgment upon him as was meet and right for him.

Solomon's wonders.

The first wonder.

THE SECOND WONDER. Solomon made a vessel, [and set it] upon a stand, and whosoever looked at this urn or came unto it could be harmed neither by fire nor by cold. And if he were to sit in the full blaze of the sun, or in the snow, he would be in no way harmed by either of them.

The second wonder.

THE THIRD WONDER. There was a misty cloud which used to travel forth in the hottest part of the day and in the coldest part of the night, and beneath it there was a large space; now any

The third wonder.

[1] Read ጻድቃን፡

number of men, from one to one thousand, could take shelter under the cloud, but if only one man beyond the thousand were added, the cloud used to withdraw itself and disappear.

The fourth wonder.

THE FOURTH WONDER. In the city a canal had been built close by a temple, and there was there a large open tank, and each year, in the days of harvest, seventy [of the people] of that city used to bring to the canal as much wine as ever they could carry, and pour it into the water. And it came to pass that some of them poured in bad wine, and some of them poured in vinegar, and some of them who were evilly disposed poured in urine; now they were wont to do this in the night during the season of harvest. And their priest used to come to the temple when the [p. 166] days of harvest were ended, and pray over the canal, and if any man had a desire to drink wine he used to go to the canal, and he and those who were with him drank as much as they were able. If he had poured therein good wine, he found good [wine] there; and if he had poured in bad wine, he found bad [wine] there; and if he had poured in urine he found urine; each man found there according to what he had poured in. And it came to pass when their king found wine which did not come from that lake, but from another, that he destroyed it, and inflicted punishment upon those who were found there.

The fifth wonder.

THE FIFTH WONDER. There was in the gate of the city a door with seventy columns, and it came

to pass that if any man wished to enter into the city secretly, or with violence, without the knowledge of any man, these pillars from the places where they stood cried out, and made known who he was, when the people of the city would lay hold upon him.

THE SIXTH WONDER. There was in the Temple at Jerusalem a chain which knew and could discern the difference between righteous men and sinners. And it came to pass that a certain man deposited gold with a Jew, but when he asked to have his deposit given back the Jew denied that he had received it; and the man called upon the Jew to come and to swear this in the Holy House and to take hold of the chain. Then the Jew with evil and deceitful words, and with curses, hollowed out a stick, and melted the gold and poured it into the stick; then, leaning upon the stick he came to the holy place to take an oath to the man. Then the stick turned and departed to the owner of the gold, and the Jew, in his iniquity, went to lay hold of the chain, and then turned to take up the stick; but straightway the chain lifted itself up and placed itself high[1] above him in the air by reason of what had been done by the Jew and through his [evil] counsel.[2]

The sixth wonder.

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[1] Read ወተለዓለት ፡

[2] *I. e.*, the chain knew that the Jew intended to swear falsely, and so betook itself into the air to get out of his reach.

The seventh wonder.

THE SEVENTH WONDER. There was at the foot of [Solomon's] throne a canal filled with [p. 167] pure water, and there were placed in that lake a platform, and a carpet (?), and a seat for the great king. And whenever any man had a dispute with his fellow, the great king used to have them brought to that place, and make them debate the cause of their quarrel before him; when this was done he commanded them to walk on the water to him. And the man who was innocent used to come walking on the water, and sank not in it, but he who had acted wickedly and had sworn falsely sank therein. By these means the king distinguished the righteous man, and the sinner, and the man of deceit.

The eighth wonder.

THE EIGHTH WONDER. There was by the throne [of Solomon] a certain laver, to which went the kinsfolk of a man who had gone away into a far country, or of one of whom no news had come, that they might inform themselves from it where he was, and of what had happened to him. Now the enquirer used to lay his hand upon the laver and call out the name of him that had gone away, and the [water in the] laver used to boil and bubble. If, when the laver had heard the words, the bubbling therein was soft and gentle, the enquirer's friend was alive, and in peace and safety; but if, when the laver had heard his voice, the bubbling was high and furious, his friend was either sick, or in danger, or dead.

And it came to pass that when Alexander had

seen these wondrous things he gave orders for them to be demolished and destroyed. Now when Aristotle his teacher heard this he ordered him not to lay waste or destroy any of them whatsoever, saying, "He Who hath made these things "is able both to help and to advance, or to ob-"struct by their means him that maketh himself "subject unto Him"; but Alexander hearkened not unto him, and he gave orders to demolish them, and so destroyed them.

Alexander destroys these wondrous things.

And it came to pass that after this Alexander kept his strength but a short time before destruction came upon him, for a mighty fever laid hold upon him and he perished thereby. And he wrote a letter of consolation, and sent it to his mother [Olympias] [p. 168] by his scribe Raḥâmân. Then he commanded [his soldiers] to carry him to Alexandria after the writing of this letter of consolation, which ran thus:— "In the Name of God, "the Merciful the Gracious."[1]

He falls sick.

Behold, now, the men of knowledge and understanding in the city of Alexandria are divided in their opinions about what was given to him, and they have studied carefully the writings[2] which they had in their hands which spake of all his acts and deeds in the Greek, and Roman, and Coptic, and Berber, and Arabic languages, and those who after them have learned to make investigations on the subject of him and his work, and about

Alexandrian opinion of Alexander.

[1] Strike out መሐሪ ፡   [2] Read እመጻሕፍት ፡

the marvellous gifts which were given unto him, have inherited [their knowledge from them]. Now there was given unto him every country into which he came, from the eastern part of the sun ['s course] even unto the western part thereof, and the mountains, and whatsoever lay between them. And he marched among the Arab nations, and he defeated their assembled hosts cunningly, and he scattered their armies, and he slew their mighty men. And he made their tribes to be his servants, and he reigned over all the earth, and heaped up therein riches. And he passed over rivers and seas, and he knew the extent of the span of the heavens, and the stations of the stars; and concerning the sun and the moon he made calculations about their seasons, and about their risings, and ascensions, and settings, and their months, and their days, and their hours, and their differences, that the knowledge thereof might be profitable unto men of understanding, and become knowledge and instruction for men of learning. And as concerning the fact that God Almighty gave him understanding in the matter of Gog and Magog, and that[1] He directed him in the matter of the seal which he set upon those nations, and that He willed him to imprison them for those who should come after him until the advent of God Almighty, these things came to pass by God's decree, for He made Alexander to be feared more than any

His conquests.

His learning.

[1] Read ወበእንተ ፡

other king, but [p. 169] he himself feared no man. He was an example for him that can imitate him, and a memorial to be commemorated,[1] and a thing of profit unto him that desireth profit in what he seeth and heareth.

And there was a certain man among Alexander's scribes who was called Raḥâmân. Now he was a man of wisdom and of understanding, and he was a great man and an honourable, and there was none greater than he with Alexander, for the glorious God had placed in his heart knowledge, and wisdom, and understanding, and he was associated with Alexander in all his works. And it came to pass that when Alexander had made an end [of conquering] all the countries which had been given unto him, he marched therein and wrought signs and wonders; and he went on and arrived in the country of El-Irâḳ,[2] and was smitten there with the sickness by which he perished. And he knew and perceived by his calculations that he was about to die, and he called unto his scribe Raḥâmân, and spake unto him, saying, "Look thou "upon me with thine eye and behold me, and with "thine ear[3] do thou hearken unto me, and open "thine understanding to what I am about to say "and to tell unto thee; peradventure I may find rest

Alexander's scribe Raḥâmân.

Alexander feels his death coming.

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[1] Read ለዘተዘከረ፡

[2] *I. e.*, العِرَاقُ, a part of Mesopotamia. See Yâḳût, tom. iii. p. ٦٣٨.

[3] Read በዕዝንከ፡

"therein, perchance it may be profitable unto thee. "And thou shalt know my counsel, and I will make "thee to hear of the knowledge thereof, and that "which is therein I will not hide from thine under-"standing. For it is because of thy noble disposition "that I have received thee, and it is because of "thy sincerity in all things that I now make known "unto thee what shall come to pass in respect of "thee and of all [other men]. And now, O my "counsellor,[1] behold the day [appointed for me] "by the King of might, the God of gods, and the "King of kings hath come upon me, and the time "of death, the death which hath no remedy, hath "found me; this is the cutting of the cord, and "the end of my days. Behold, I am remote from "my own people, and they cannot find me, and "help hath moved afar off from my sight; but I have "seen and considered this time, and there hath "come upon me that which hath never before ap-"peared[2] among the good, and pure, and righteous "servants, [p. 170] O my counsellor. For the pain "of the fetters of the chains of death hath risen "upon me, and at this time it hath entered (?) into "my bones, and hath sunk into my members, and "hath made me drunk exceedingly, and it will "remove far from me thy habitation which was "nigh unto me; but thy love for me is true, and "my vision and that towards which my heart "looketh is thyself.

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

[1] Read ኦመማክርትየ ፡ [2] Read ዘኢያስተርኢ ፡

"And now, my heart and mind are [set] upon "Another, from Whom none of my beloved friends "is hidden or concealed; and if I were to tell "thee concerning His Majesty and of the terror of "Him Who is invisible, it would be too hard for "thee [to understand]. He it is Who hath called "me to drink[1] [of the cup of death], even as those "who have been before me have done, and as "those who shall come after me shall do; I have "no power to look at Him,[2] even for the twinkling "of an eye, from the time when I came forth "from my mother's womb into the light of this "world, and during all my days and up to this "present hour. He is mighty, and powerful, and "exceedingly terrible, O my beloved. For every "[country] which I have seen, and in which I have "been, and over which I have had dominion, from "the first even unto the last [is His], and I have "done marvellous things through Him, and I have "laboured through Him. And, behold, the kingdom "which hath been given unto me hath diminished, "and hath grown small, and hath passed away, "and hath vanished into darkness in my sight by "reason of this which hath laid hold upon me. "And He hath sent trembling into[3] my bones, "together with the fear of calamities, and He in "Whom I am and upon Whom I cast my eyes "and look, hath magnified it. Woe unto my soul,

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

[1] Read እሰትዩ ፡ [2] Read ኀቤሁ ፡
[3] Strike out ውስከ ፡

"because in times past it hath been sick, and now "is,[1] and it knoweth not what decree, great and "to be feared, of God shall come upon it. And I, "even I have harmed it greatly by reason of "[what I have done] to it in times past, for I was "with it, and was making dark its eyes, and I "terrified its heart, and set on fire its thoughts, "O my friend. Now when the mention of death, "or any story about it, is on the tongue, or in "the mouth, or when a man heareth thereof [p. 171] "through the multitude of his conversations [with "others], then doth he cry out bitterly, and his "sorrow is great when he considereth that which "is sent to him and he seeth the death of their "generations, and the fear and terror which cannot "be seen by the eyes, or by him that looketh "thereat. Therefore the tongue is prostrated both "by the mention thereof and by any story con-"cerning it, and the ear becometh deaf when it "entereth therein, and the heart becometh clouded "over when it cometh into it, and the throat is "choked, and the eyes are afraid of it, and a man "weepeth when it cometh into his bones, and he "is terrified[2] by his crying and trembling before "it arriveth and before it cometh to him, and he "quaketh at the pain thereof. But the memorial "thereof is certain and is prepared for men, "and he upon whom it layeth hold should talk "of it, and should speak concerning it, for the

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

[1] Read ድዉይት፡ ዮም፡ [2] Read ወይደንግፅ፡

"interpretation thereof is with him; and afterwards "it neither returneth again to him, nor doth it "come to him, nor doth he look upon its face "again. And it should be kept in memory, although "men do not imagine that it is ready for them, "or that it will find them, O my friend. For in "that day there shall be a mighty King Who shall "be just, O my friend. And in it there shall be "neither oppression, nor wrong-doing, nor beggary, "nor . . . . . .[1] of any man, and to him that hath "done wickedly here, evil-speaking, or lying, or "deceit shall not be in that place, O my friend.

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

"None of the beings who are in heaven or in "earth knoweth how long or how many[2] are the "years until that time except the Creator thereof. "But I know and I have seen that the years will "be five hundred thousand, and my God knoweth "the number thereof, O my friend. And all created "things shall stand upon their feet, and there shall "be no earthly being on all the face of earth which "shall not be beneath His footstool, and there "shall be no inhabitant therein, and there shall be "neither a resting-place nor a place[1] of repose. "Then shall the King of power and might, the "[p. 172] only One, the Mighty, look upon them, "and they shall incline their ears unto His voice, "and the angels shall stand round about Him, and "they shall be gathered together to Him, and shall

[1] The reading ወኢየዴለ ፡ is uncertain, for there is an erasure here in the MS.

[2] Read እስፍንቱ ፡

"set up the scales of truth, and the books of "prophecy shall be revealed. And the martyrs "shall be there, and the prophets shall stand up, "and every nation and people shall be set apart "by itself, and Sheol shall appear, and God shall "give unto it the order, and it shall belch forth "earthquakes, and it shall draw nigh in the "twinkling[1] of an eye only, and the minds of the "proud shall melt away. Woe unto the mighty "man, woe unto the mighty man, and woe unto "the evil-doer, and unto every man who shall "praise himself, and shall say before God Almighty "that he is the greatest of all created things in "His sight, and that it is he who hath prepared "righteousness and the entrance [for himself] into "the Garden of delight, and that nothing more "honourable than himself hath been created upon "earth by Him. For he is his own enemy, and he "deceiveth himself, and God Almighty will not "have regard unto him, for he hath judged himself "before God Almighty judgeth him; and straight-"way[2] He will order him to the punishment which "He hath prepared for him. This is the portion "of sinners. But the children of the right hand, "who believe in God Almighty, will He Who is "on the right hand lead unto His own place, and "they shall cry 'Holy, Holy, Holy', unto His Trinity unceasingly and untiringly, and they shall "fear Him, O my beloved.

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

[1] Read ቅፅበት ፡ [2] Read ሶቤሃ ፡

"For when a man knoweth that death is to be "spoken[1] of, or that any mention of it is to be "made, or that any man describeth it with reference "unto himself, his understanding melteth away by "reason of the difficulty [of understanding it], and "light becometh darkness to him, and fear dis-"turbeth him sorely, for his heart maketh him to "suffer pain.[2] And it separateth a man from his "desires, and from his pleasures, and from his "sleep; and although it protracteth his weeping "instead of his laughter, nevertheless he himself "maketh it to endure perpetually in his mind; "and that which is said concerning it, and that "which is said about it are [ever] on his tongue, "and it robbeth him of his strength [p. 173] of "heart, and the desire of the world removeth "itself afar off, and [his mind][3] is a lie, and that "which is in it is deceit. Now the righteous are "those who have forsaken and rejected the be-"getting of children, and earthly possessions; and "they have entered into their righteousness and "into their habitations. But the heavy laden are "those who have no deliverance from death, and "who have confessed their sins, and have hearkened "concerning their souls, and who have believed "that God hath had mercy upon them and in the "things which were written for them, O Raḥâmân.

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

"Now this which I have to drink is a cup which "was ordained for me, and I have told thee con-

[1] Read ቱናጋሬ፡ [2] Read ያደነግፅ፡ [3] Read ወሕሊኖ፡

"cerning it that I was afraid of it, but to it am "I bound. And I shall come [thereby] to the gate "through which I must go in to the kingdom of "God Almighty, Who hath made the heavens "and all that therein is, and the Sun, and the "Moon, Who hath made His throne to be borne "upon the shoulders of the angels, and before "Whom beasts, each having a different kind of "face and form, with seven wings and multitudes "of eyes, stand and minister, and Who hath set "His throne upon them, and Who hath made for "Himself veils which eye is not able to pierce to "hide Himself from each one of them. And He "hath made the earth also, even as He hath made "the heavens, and the Sun, and the Moon, and "He hath created the day and the night, each in "its own season, and the air, and the stars; He "created them aforetime, and as He willed [their "being] even so is He their preserver. All created "things and all life are held in His hand as they "abide in their places, and He both giveth them "strength and vanquisheth them with the death "which He hath created together with them, and "which He hath appointed for them. He is the "Source of all life, and life returneth unto Him; "as it came in the beginning through Him, even "so is the end thereof through Him. He filleth "this world with death and sorrow, even as He "hath filled [it] with life and days, and nothing "existeth in the heavens, [p. 174] or in the earth, "and nothing in which is life existeth without Him,

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

"the only One, Who existeth by Himself; without "His Voice and Spirit nothing existeth. Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

"And as aforetime He created the earth out "of Himself, and from nothing else, so He is able "to create another world which shall endure for "ever, and which shall neither perish nor be "destroyed; for He is the King of might, and "besides Him there is none other. And God Al-"mighty will raise up His creation in the twinkling "[of an eye], for He will call unto them with blasts "of the horn, and the bones which have been "dried up and withered from days of old shall "gather themselves together, and created beings "shall be made anew in their old forms, without "labour and without pain. Now this shall happen "because everything which He ordereth[1] cometh "to pass through the might of His Voice which "was with Him before the world was. And when "He thus bringeth back to life created things, "every soul shall be united again to its body even as "it was aforetime, and they shall live [together] "a life which shall be without death for ever "and for ever, through countless ages and time. "He that is righteous shall be justified, and he "that is to be punished shall suffer punishment. "And there shall be no death, except that where-"with God put mortals to death in this first world, "and moreover, He will gather them all together, "and not one of them shall be missing.

[1] Read ዘይቤ ፡

"O my beloved one, this day, concerning which "I am telling you beforehand, shall be like unto "that wherein God Almighty created all things "that exist, and in it shall be awarded the works "whereby He will punish the world; and the "people shall be in two companies, one of which "shall be in Paradise and the other in fire, O my "beloved. In that day there shall be a mighty "King Who shall judge righteously, and the "righteous shall hear His voice, and His cry shall "resound, and the Paradise of delight shall be "ornamented for them; blessed be every man "who hath been strenuous to submit himself to "what is good. In that day [p. 175] shall hidden "mysteries be laid open, and the wicked shall go "into the fire, O my beloved. I wished to tell "thee concerning these things, but I am smitten "with sickness, and between the description of "these things and me much pain and the failing "of my strength have intervened, and the pains "of death have laid hold upon me. And now, O "my beloved, hasten thee to bring me paper, "whereupon I may write a letter to my mother, "which may console her for my death, and which "may also tell her what hath befallen me."

Alexander's address to Raḥâmân.

Then Raḥâmân brought paper unto him, and Alexander said unto him, "Write," and he began [thus]:—

Alexander's last letter to his mother.

"In the Name of God, [the Merciful], the Gracious! "From Alexander, beloved of earthly beings be- "cause of his meagre body, and beloved of

"heavenly beings for his great soul, to my ex-"cellent and well-beloved friend, who hath wrought "good unto me in the times that are past, and "who hath been about my path continually. O "my wise friend, I entreat thee, both by my God "and by thine own birth, O my mother, to incline "thine ear unto my speech with the loving mind "which thou hast. O thou who art a bride among "women by reason of thy love, and humility, and "lowly bearing, and softness, and graciousness, as "thou art thus even so hath thy son not been "pleased to make himself like unto [other] young "men in any of the works which they do. And "thou, hast thou not been pleased with me, be-"cause of it, O my mother? And hast thou not "seen that I have always waxed in strength from "the time when I came into being?

"When[1] the branches of a tree are shaken hither "and thither by the wind the leaves are stripped "off it, and its root drieth up in the ground, and "[if] it hath blossomed and put forth fruit, its fruit "is destroyed, and its leaves are stripped off, and "afterwards[2] the tree itself falleth. Hast thou "never observed how darkness cometh suddenly "over a bright day? Hast thou never observed "how the light of the moon departeth when but "half of it is shrouded, and how when darkness "envelopeth it its light [p. 176] diminisheth? Hast "thou never looked at the stars of light and seen

[1] Read አመሶበ ፡ [2] Read ወእምድኅረ ፡

"how they become dark? Hast thou never watched "when sweet water is mingled with bitter, how "quickly it is destroyed? Hast thou never observed "how He, Who hath filled the universe, striketh "terror into the created things which exist in the "world, terror such as they have never imagined, "or seen, or heard? Now created things are of "two kinds, the one kind groweth, and the other "is begotten; but both of them are created that "they may be destroyed. Hast thou not heard "that He spake to this world, when He created "it, saying, 'O thou Mother of death', 'O thou "Heiress of sorrow'? And hast thou never heard "or seen that nothing which hath been created "upon this earth knew what was [laid] upon it "when it took up its habitation? Hast thou never "observed, O my mother, that he that hath given "taketh back again that which he hath given, and "that that which is pledged must be redeemed, and "that he that hath redeemed his pledge desireth "to take it back? O my mother, it is meet that "everything should weep. The skies should weep "for their stars, the seas should weep for their "fish, the air should weep for its birds, the earth "should weep for that which is born therein and "for its children, and man should weep at all "times for his mortal soul, for he disappeareth "like the twinkling of an eye. O my mother, "there is no place of refuge from death, and I "know that it lieth in wait for us; but let not "this cause thee pain, for thou and I must die like

Alexander's last letter to his mother.

"all other folk. And behold, O my mother, I have "written this my letter unto thee hoping that there "may be something of joy therein[1] [for thee]. Do "not thou make my understanding to be ashamed "and my soul to be sorrowful because of my faults, "O my mother, for behold, I know and see that "the place whither I am going is better than "that wherein I now dwell, and that it is free "from sickness. And now proclaim thou thyself "happy in my faith, and follow in my footsteps, "for behold, [p. 177] this day shall be cut off the "memorial of me from the people of the world. "Some will remember me, and my kingdom, and "my fair estate, but they will forget the memory "of myself, and to some shall appear[2] thy wisdom, "and patience, and submission, and some will ex-"pect advantage to arise to us and to thee in "our habitation and the place of abode whither we "go. O my mother, do thou nothing except[3] by "my wish, for the sign of the love of a friend is "that he doeth what his friend desireth, and that "he goeth afar off from what he hateth; all men "shall know that thy submission was mine, and "that thy faults were mine. And now make thyself "happy, O my mother, in respect of me, and "may peace be to thee for a little in this world "which is fleeting;[4] and upon me and upon thee "may there be an abundance of peace continually

Alexander's last letter to his mother.

[1] Read በቱ ፡ ሥን ፡ [2] Read በዘያስተርኢ ፡

[3] Read ዘእንበለ ፡ [4] Read ኃላፊት ፡

"in the place of peace, now, and for ever, and "ever. Amen."

And when Aristotle, Alexander's teacher and counsellor, heard of his death, he also wrote a letter to his mother, saying:—

Aristotle's letter to Olympias.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious! "O fairest[1] among women, thou wise and gracious "and honourable lady, dost thou not know that, "when God Almighty, the mighty and most "noble, created this world and had finished it,[2] He "said to it, 'O House of sorrow, O mother of "death, O impediment[3] of joy and gladness, O "destroyer of pleasure, O scatterer[4] of friends, O "thou that makest hope a lie, O thou who takest "away the heart, O thou who withdrawest[5] gifts; "for behold, thou shalt weep, and thou shalt cry "as thou shalt cry, and thy habitation shall be in "the darkness, where there is weeping and much "sorrow?' And, behold, O fairest among women, "I desire thee to gather together all thy seventy "kings, and thy nobles, and thy friends, and to "make for them a splendid feast, and let them "participate thereat together, and then after-"wards thou shalt assemble [p. 178] the people of "thy palace there. And having set meat before "them thou shalt say unto them, 'I make you to "swear by Him that dieth not, and by the King

[1] Read አሠናይት ፡ [2] Read ወፈጸማ ፡
[3] Read አከላኢት ፡ [4] Read አዘራዊት ፡
[5] Read አትገብኢት ፡

"of kings, that the man in whose heart there hath "entered sorrow, and the woman in whose heart "there hath entered pain, shall not eat of my "meat.'"

And Alexander's mother[1] did this even as she had been ordered to do by Aristotle. And it came to pass that when all those who were at the feast heard the speech of the mother of Alexander, they took up their hands from their meat, and they all said, "There is not one of us "into whom sorrow hath not entered." Then the mother of Alexander said unto them, "Why then, "should I feed drunken men? for I thought it "was so. There hath come upon them sorrow "without end, and as it hath come upon them "even so hath it come upon me. Of what ad-"vantage is it for me, or for you, to take pleasure "in procuring the meat which is to be eaten in "bitterness, since sorrow hath laid hold upon my "soul? Or what profiteth it me if I see all the "house filled with gladness, for behold, I perceive "that it belongeth to the fleeting world? Now our "world passeth away and changeth into another, "for everything vanisheth in its season and the "glory thereof departeth; and it is good for a "man [to say], 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of "Hosts, Who maketh to die every living creature "which hath put on flesh, and Who is the Living "One, the Immortal God.' Every nurse reareth

Olympias addresses her guests.

[1] Read እሙ፡

"children for death, and for death are all children "born. Now that my friend and the offspring "of [my] heart hath removed afar off what can I "do? And how can I rejoice in the gladness of "life and in the riches of the world when my "spirit faileth me and is crushed to pieces? Hence-"forth there is no living thing which can gladden "me, and no meat will afford me pleasure, and "there is no place wherein I can any longer dwell "[in comfort]; but I will go forth unto the wilder-"ness and dwell with the wild beasts, for it will "be better for me to live as they live than to "dwell in this fleeting and perishing world." And when [p. 179] Alexander's mother had finished her weeping she sent away and dismissed the guests to their homes.

Speech of Olympias.

And it came to pass that certain of Alexander's disciples gathered themselves together while he lay among them in the pains, and agonies, and bitterness of death, and they spake to each other, saying, "Come, let us urge him to speak, so that we "may partake of his wisdom, and so that we may "lighten ourselves by his light before his lamp "goeth out." Then one of those who were his friends said unto him, "O good teacher, we see "that thou art about to depart for this world to "one which is better for thee, and that thou wilt "leave us here alone and far away from thee. "Instruct us so that our lamps may burn brightly, "and give us of the light of thy wisdom, so that, "in hasting to perform [thy] commandments, we

"may look for the blessing of thy prayers until "we straightway find it, and may fight a good fight "in this world."

THE PRECEPTS WHICH ALEXANDER GAVE UNTO HIS DISCIPLES AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

The precepts of the dying Alexander.

[Then Alexander] spake unto [his disciples, saying], "Hearken unto me, O my children and "friends, and I will give you commandments by "the permission of God Almighty, and I will in-"struct your souls what to do for God Almighty "Who dieth not, for there is no punishment like "unto His punishment, and there is no mercy like "unto His; no rebel can resist His punishment, for "it hath existed from everlasting. Whosoever "among you would know His abiding place, let "him perfect his work and take good heed unto "his soul, and let him watch to do that which is "good, and let him sell his days, which are fleeting, "and buy for himself the life which endureth for "ever. Whosoever among you hath, before this "day, feared the path of death, from to-day and "henceforth let him be afraid of the length of his "life which must pass before the coming of death. "Whosoever[1] involveth his hands in sin straightway "is dead, but whosoever hath sorrowed for his "soul hath thereby brought to it the life [p. 180] "which never cometh to an end. Before the "judgment of God hath taken place no man what-"soever can enter into life and into the place of

[1] Read ወዘሰ ፡

"rest. Whosoever hath received [gladly] that "which hath been given unto him of the things "of this world, happy is he, but whosoever is not "pleased with the things of this world which have "been given to him[1] would not be pleased with "the whole world even if it were given unto him; "let the man of understanding, then, increase his "good works and [his] righteousness."

Then Alexander's disciples said unto him, "O "good master, shall we not fear the coming of "darkness after the light, and blindness after sight?" Alexander said unto them, "Whosoever loveth "that place and refuseth to come thereto, to- "morrow shall his dwelling-place be with those "who shall perish by the judgment of darkness; "but whosoever journeyeth in the straight path "shall be in the light, and he shall shine like the "children of the light." And when the disciples had heard his voice they wept over him bitterly, and said unto him, "Behold, thy departure from "us hath filled our hearts with sorrow, and should "we not desire to depart unto the place of life?" Alexander said unto them, "Hate ye the dwelling "in this world." And they said unto him, "Which "is the way to the life which hath no death fol- "lowing in its train?" And Alexander said unto them, "Do ye bear in mind how great is the "punishment which all sinful men must endure?" And they said unto him, "O lord of life, is not

The precepts of Alexander.

[1] Read ለሙት ፡

"this punishment by fire?" And they spake [again], saying, "We have taken to ourselves the food of "thy days, O good master." And Alexander said unto them, "The affliction of sorrow hath laid "hold upon me, together with anxious care, which "nothing can deliver me from except the gracious "remission and forgiveness of sins, for repentance "hath the supreme power in this world. And how "many are those who go continually to their place! "Is not their joy according to their place?"

And again[1] the disciples said unto Alexander, "What[2] can deliver us from these punishments, "and from the [p. 181] pains of this path?" And he said unto them, "Fulfil the commandment of "God Almighty, be mindful of the poor since God "Almighty hath made you rich; and satisfy the "hungry with food since He hath satisfied[3] you; "give drink to the thirsty since He hath given "you to drink in abundance; clothe the naked "since He hath given you apparel; heal the sick "since He hath healed you; encourage the timid "since He hath put fear into you, and fulfil the "number of your lonely souls." The disciples said unto him, "If we do these things will it be "profitable for us?" Alexander said [unto them], "Yea, if ye begin [to do them now], and all that "ye do is good, ye shall not perish like that. . . . . . "And although He will chastise and enter into judg-

The precepts of Alexander.

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[1] Read ወካዕበ ፡ [2] Read ምንት ፡
[3] Read አጽገብከሙ ፡

Alexander's dying precepts

"ment with sinners, yet the righteous will He praise, "and He will keep them from being the food of "fire and the treasure of Sheol. And if thou hast "made thy days to come to an end in nothingness,[1] "thou shalt say, 'O God, O God,' but He will not "turn towards thy voice; and thou shalt say, 'O "Merciful One,' but He will show no mercy unto "thee.[2] What good thing is there which He could "not do for thee? What evil thing is there which "He could not withhold from thee? What chastise-"ment could He not put far away from thee? "What grief could He not dispel for thy sake? "What sorrow could He not remove far from "thee? What[3] hunger in the place of which He "could not give thee fulness? What oppression "from which He could not release thee? And "although He calleth thee by thy name, and payeth "honour unto thee, thou wilt not receive Him, and "thou boastest thyself and wilt not give of the "things which He hath given unto thee, and al-"though He sheweth mercy to thee, thou dost act "with oppression, and although He dealeth graciously "with thee, thou sinnest [against Him]. Knowest "thou not how the great Devil, the wickedest of "the wicked,[4] made thee to rebel against thy God, "and how he removed afar off from thee His gift, "and how he brought stripes upon thee, and how "he sent against thee him that would not have

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[1] Read በከንቱ ፡ [2] Read ወኢይምሕረከ ፡
[3] Read ወእስፍንቱ ፡ [4] Read አሰልው ፡

"mercy upon thee, and how instead of with glory he "clothed thee with shame and disgrace, and instead "of joy with sorrow, [p. 182] and instead of riches "with everlasting poverty? Thou shalt cry again "unto Him but He shall not accept thee, thou "shalt make entreaty to Him but He shall not give "unto thee, thou shalt make prayer unto Him but "He shall not turn unto thee, thou shalt weep before "Him but He shall show no compassion on thy "weeping, thou shalt make supplication unto him "but He shall neither receive thee nor show thee "mercy."

Alexander describes God's dealings with Adam.

And again Alexander began to recite excellent things,[1] and he spake [unto his disciples], saying, "Come and let me tell you what God hath done "for him that was obedient unto Him, and what "He did unto him that rebelled against His com-"mand. In the matter of Adam, whom God made "and fashioned with His own hands, whom He "chose, and in whose nostrils He breathed the "breath of life, and for whom He made a royal "house, and a paradise exalted above all the earth, "wherein were beautiful things of every kind, after "he had transgressed one commandment He drove "him forth from Paradise, because of his trans-"gression, into a land which could never be satis-"fied by his toil,[2] except by the sweat of his face, "and He made him to taste bitter death.

God's dealings with Cain.

"And did not Cain, after living in an honourable

[1] Read ሥናያት ፡ [2] Read ገጽ ፡ ወበጻማሁ ፡

"estate, envy his brother Abel, and slay him, be-"cause his offering was accepted [by God]? There-"fore God drove him far away from His holy "mountain, and He cursed him[1], and left him in "fear and trembling to wander about the earth, "and he was terrified at every sound which he "heard. And when he had transgressed the com-"mand of his father in taking his sister to wife,[2] "and his sin became great upon his soul, he said, "'O my sins! God Almighty hath not forgiven "me, nay, He hath judged me, and hath prepared "trembling and terror for me before Him, and "every one who findeth me shall slay me.' And "God said unto him, 'Should it not be thus? "Surely sin shall be imputed unto thee for every "murder [which shall be committed]'. And after-"wards a certain man found him and crushed his "head with a stone, and killed him, and [thus] "rewarded him[3] for his deed. And for the mur-"derer slaughter is meet, for do not men award "honour to the honourable man for the sake of "his honour?

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[1] Read ወረገሞ ፡

[2] Cain took a large stone, and smote his brother with it upon the head, until his brains oozed out, and he weltered in his blood before him. When the earth had drunk in Abel's blood, it trembled, and thrice Cain laid his brother in a pit which he dug, and thrice the earth threw him up. As for Cain, when the mourning for his brother was ended, he took his sister Luluwa and married her, without leave from his father or mother. Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 100 ff.

[3] Read ወፈደዮ ፡

God's dealings with Enoch.

"And Enoch God [kept alive] by reason of the "[p. 183] fair beauty of his deeds until the time "which He hath promised unto His chosen ones. "And He brought down the children of Cain who "had denied God Almighty and made them to "dwell[1] in the land of Alexandria.[2] And after "this they multiplied sin and became like unto "the beasts which have no laws, and they flamed "with lust, and burned with passion, and Satan "seduced them with dances and lascivious gestures; "and this sin was in their bodies until the end of "days. And when they burned with lust they "begat mighty giants, creatures who were perfect "in beauty, but God Almighty took no heed to "their beauty because of the multitude of their "sins. But He sent against them the punishments "of His wrath, and He destroyed them by the "Flood and by cruel death; thus they died, and "perished, and were destroyed, together with the "children of Seth who had joined themselves unto "them.[3]

[1] According to the *Book of Adam and Eve*, ii. XI. 1. they went down from the mountain and dwelt in the west.

[2] It is well known that a part of Alexandria was built upon a swamp, and with this fact compare Cedrenus, Hist. Comp., tom. I, p. 15, at the foot, οὗτος χθαμαλὸς ἦν . . . . ᾤκει δὲ τὴν γῆν, ἥτις ἐστι τρέμουσα χθαμαλὴν οὖσαν.

[3] "And to Genun, a descendant of Cain, came Satan in his childhood, and he made sundry trumpets, and horns, and string instruments, cymbals and psalteries, and lyres, and harps and flutes; and he played on them at all times and at every hour. And when he played on them Satan came into them,

God's dealings with Noah.

"And in like manner did God Almighty do "unto the men of Noah after He had blessed them, "and had multiplied them, and had heaped upon "them the blessings of the earth. But after they "had filled their habitations with the gifts of His "mercy for a long time, they then forsook His "loving-kindness, and sinned against His covenant. "And having slumbered a long time He over-"whelmed them with wrath, and sent upon them "[the water of] the heavens from above, and bitter "waters from beneath the earth, and He drowned "them in the waters of the Flood and in a storm

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so that from among them were heard beautiful and sweet sounds, that ravished the heart. Then he gathered companies upon companies to play on them; and when they played, it pleased well the children of Cain, who inflamed themselves with sin among themselves, and burnt as with fire; while Satan inflamed their hearts one with another, and increased lust among them. Satan also taught Genun to bring strong drink out of corn; and this Genun used to bring together companies upon companies in drink-houses . . . . Then sin increased among them greatly; until a man married his own sister or daughter, or mother, and others; or the daughter of his father's sister, so that there was no more distinction [of relationship], and they no longer knew what is iniquity". Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, ii. XX. 1. ff. In these days the people were given wholly over to fornication, for they were not liable to pay tribute, as they had neither prince nor governor. There was nothing but eating, and drinking, and lasciviousness, and drunkenness, and singing, and dancing, and devilish play, and the laughter which delighted the friends, and the wanton cries of men neighing for women, and of women neighing for men. Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, p. 7.

"of wind. And men,[1] and women, and young "men, and young women, and birds, and beasts, "and everything which [moved] upon the face of "the earth perished; and this happened because "of the sins which they had committed, and because "they had not regarded His grace, and had sinned "against Him Who had dealt graciously with them, "and because they had sinned against their own "souls, and because of the greatness of the sin "which they had wrought.

"But as for Noah, the righteous man, whom "God created, He sanctified him, and declared "innocent both him and all his people who were "with him, and He received [p. 184] his prayer "and his offering, and made him a wise man and "a strong man, and the heir of all nations; and "from him, moreover, were all men throughout "the earth descended.

"And after Noah, did not Abraham who had "subjected himself unto God, now all wicked nations "know His name, return to Him an acceptable "thing, and prepare himself to sacrifice his first-"born? And when Abraham desired to act with "sincerity God blessed him with an indestructible "blessing, and He made him the father of all "nations and put him among the company of the "prophets and saints. And did not God make "the son of His friend Abraham, and Jacob His "chosen one, and David His prophet and his[2]

God's dealings with Abraham.

[1] Read እደው ፡ [2] Read ውእቱኒ ፡

"children, His prophets, and friends, and chosen "ones? But when they transgressed the command-"ment, and refused [to obey] it, and regarded not "His graciousness and mercy, and committed sin, "did He not visit them with the severe punishment "with which Pharaoh[1] and his men judged them, "until in one month He destroyed of them more "than seven millions of those who were twenty "years old and upwards. And He sent upon them "the punishments of His judgments, and He made "them to be solitary, and they became a shame "and a disgrace.

God's dealings with Jacob.

"And was it not God Who preserved Jacob alive "after his eyes had become blind? For his heart "was sorrowful by reason[2] of the absence of Joseph "his son,[3] and he tasted death, and that humble "man grieved for a long time because of the sever-"ing of the limb for which he had asked and which "had dwelt closely about him,[4] but He did not give "him back to him until he had put away his sorrow "of heart. Now his eyes had become cloudy and "dim through weeping. And God Almighty sent "unto him, saying, 'My strength and My might "can remove sorrow from thy heart, and weeping "from thine eyes.' O Jacob, thou humble man, thou "didst ask for a small act of grace, and He gave "it not to thee; did not God make thee to know "this, O Jacob?

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[1] Read ፈርዖን ፡ [2] Read በእንተ ፡

[3] Read ወልዱ ፡ [4] Read በአግዋሪሁ ፡

The overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.

"And again, did not God destroy Sodom and "Gomorrah, together with a number of men and "cities, when they acted corruptly and committed "fornication [p. 185] with men, and when they "delighted themselves with adultery and fornication "and transgressed His law? And because they were "minded [to do this] unto the prophets who were sent "as messengers [thither], as soon as Lot had gone "back to them God Almighty made the top of "their habitation to be its bottom, and He des-"troyed them, and sent forth His wrath against "them, and He rained on them great stones from "heaven, and overthrew their cities. Not one of "them was left alive, and they filled Sheol with "their iniquities, which they had brought forth upon "themselves.

God's dealings with Job.

"And was it not God Who wrought for His "servant Job,[1] the righteous man, who was His "prophet and His friend? Now he was one of the "richest men in the world, and God multiplied his "riches, and his household, and his children, and "his menservants, and his maidservants, and all "his possessions, and his place was too strait for "him because of the multitudes of his beasts and

[1] Arabic tradition makes Job to have been the son of Amûṣ, the son of Zâreḥ, the son of Rʿûl, the son of Esau, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham. He dwelt in Syria, in the district of the Ḥaurân and Bathanîyyeh, which is in the region of the Jordan between Damascus and Jâbîa (see Yâḳût, tom. ii. p. ٣); see Masʿûdî, tom. i. pp. 90, 91. He was a contemporary of Joseph the son of Jacob.

"cattle. And Pharaoh called Job, and took counsel "with him concerning the children of Israel, whose "prophets were twenty-four[1] in number, but when "Job heard he was silent, and he would not counsel "any slaughter of them whatsoever. And because "of this thing God Almighty imputed unto Job "great sin, and He said unto him, 'Thy sin is great, "'O Job, for why, when thou didst hear the voice "'of Pharaoh, didst thou not[2] turn away thy face? "'And why didst thou not wax furious when he "'took counsel with thee concerning the slaughter "'of the children of Abraham, My friend? I swear "'by My might and by My power that I will waste "'thy flesh, and that I will destroy thy possessions "'and thy children because of what thou hast done.' "Then He destroyed[3] his wealth, and He slew his "household, and his children, and his beasts and "cattle, and [He scattered] his possessions, and He "wasted him until his flesh fell away and his hair "dropped out, and He made him to sit in ashes "in tears of sorrow, and nothing was left of his "body except his bones.

Job refuses to advise Pharaoh.

"And his brother came unto him and saw him "in this state, but he was not able to draw nigh "unto him because of his stinkingness. And he said, "'Glorious [p. 186] and Holy is the Lord God of "'Israel, for He hath done this unto thee because "'of thy sin.' And Job heard, and wept, and he

Job's punishment.

[1] Read ፳ወ፬ቱ ፡ [2] Read ኢተምዕዕከ ፡

[3] Some word like አማሰነ ፡ has dropped out of the text.

"said, 'O God, Thou knowest that I never filled "'myself with meat while a poor man [stood] out-"'side my house, and I never shut my door against "'him that begged;' and a voice was heard from "heaven [which said], 'Behold, thy word is true, "'O Job.'

"Then came unto him three men, and they sat "upon the ground, and spake unto him, saying, "'Peace be unto thee;' and he returned [the saluta-"tion], 'Upon you be peace.' And he wept and "they wept for three whole days. And they said "unto him, 'O Job, what is the sin which thou hast "'committed that thou hast arrived at this state of "'misery? cry out to God Almighty that He may "'heal thee.' And Job spake unto them, saying, "'My God is, as ye know, above[1] the heavens, "'and I am on this earth; and I am not nigh unto "'Him to ask Him, and I have no excuse where-"'with I might make excuses unto Him. Moreover, "'He is a mighty king, and the words of my speech "'would not reach Him, even if I could come to "'Him, for He is a righteous Judge, and His judg-"'ments upon me are right and true. For I acknow-"'ledge my sin, and also that all this affliction which "'hath arisen through it is meet for me.'

His friends come to him.

Job's speech to them.

"Then those men who were sitting before him, "and who were great kings, said unto him, 'We "know not what thou sayest, for God Almighty "can only have punished thee with this affliction

[1] Read መልዕልት ፡

"for the sin which thou hast committed.' And Job "said unto them, 'I will recount unto you my deeds[1] "in order that ye may examine into them: I tell "you that He doth not bring night upon me except to exhaust me thereby until He cometh, "and day passeth over me only that[2] I may toil "[therein], and the number of my possessions which "were in His hand were only as a lie, and I never "shut my door upon me either by day or by "night but that some [p. 187] stranger or pilgrim "came, and not finding it open he turned away "in shame and indignation. And I never spread "a table for myself but that the wretched[3] and "the needy who sat thereat put their hands[4] in "the dish of meat before me. I, who was the "great man, am become even as the mean man, "and the mean man hath become as a father unto "me; I abase myself before and I bow down to the "poor, to the feet of him that begged of me, and before those who are wretched and miserable, having "done no harm. And I used to give thanks unto "God Almighty because of what He had given "me in my wife, for she was to me as my sister, "and I was to her[5] even as God.[6] O Lord, my

Job's speech to his friends.

[1] Read ምግባርየ ፡ [2] The MS. has እንዘ ፡

[3] Read እጓለ ፡ ማውታ ፡

[4] The MS. writes እደዊሆሙ ፡ [5] Read በኃቤሃ ፡

[6] According to Arabic tradition Job's wife (called by some Rahmat, the daughter of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, and by others Makhîr the daughter of Manasses,) tended him in his sickness, and supported him by her labour. One day the

"God, I am sore afflicted for the sin which I "have committed, but what I know of myself dost "not Thou know better than do I? And Thy "punishment also is righteous, and Thou Thyself "art more righteous than I. For I am Thy servant, "and the child of Thine hand-maid; for what "Thou hast given[1] I have offered up thanksgiving, "and Thy afflictions I have borne in patience. "And now, I will not add anything to that which "[I have spoken] to you. And, moreover, besides "all these things, behold I know that God Al-"mighty hath servants whom He hath set in the "Garden, without their riches—for if they re-"membered them their hearts would become dark, "and their souls would be destroyed—like those "who are needy, their works being perfect and "themselves pure and acceptable.'

"And it came to pass that while he was speaking "these words behold a cloud came and stood over

devil appeared unto her and reminding her of her past prosperity, promised that if she would worship him, he would restore all they had lost; she straightway asked Job's consent, but he was so angry with her that he swore, if he recovered, to give her a hundred stripes. Job then cried out to God, "Verily, evil hath afflicted me; but Thou art the most "merciful of those who shew mercy," and He sent Gabriel to heal him. A fountain sprang up before him, and having drunk of it the worms fell off his body, and he became again young and beautiful; his wife also became young again, and bore him twenty-six sons, but in performance of his oath Job smote her one blow with a palm branch having one hundred leaves. See Sale's *Koran*, p. 247.

[1] Read ወወሀብከኒ ፡?

God answers Job.

"the heads of Job the righteous, and of his friends, "and it shot out over them all lightnings and "thunders. Then God looked down upon Job the "righteous from out of the cloud, and spake unto "him, saying, 'Restrain thy lips, for I know every- "thing, and there is nothing which can be hidden "from Me, neither in the heavens above, nor in "the earth beneath, nor [p. 188] in Sheol. Who "created the heavens and the things which are "within them? Who created the earth and what "is therein?[1] Who created the feathered fowl, and "the beasts and the cattle, and the creeping things? "Who created the sea and all that therein is? "Who created the earth and set it above the "waters? Who created the dry land and fixed it "that it should not be moved?'

"And again the Voice came to him, and spake "unto him, saying, 'O Job, art thou a mighty one "that thou shouldst speak unto the Mighty One? "Art thou a creator that thou shouldst speak unto "the Creator? Shall the vessel made by the potter "speak unto the potter?' And God spake unto "Job, saying, 'Why now hast thou acted thus? "I have only afflicted thee in order that thou "mightest become righteous. And thou who sayest "concerning Me that I am above the heavens, and "that thou dwellest upon the earth, dost thou not "acknowledge thy sin and that thou shouldst suffer "affliction for it? Thy sin arose through thy going

[1] Read ወዘውስቴቱ ፡

"to Pharaoh when thou didst take counsel [with "him] concerning the slaughter of the children of "Israel, who are the seed of My friend. And dost "thou not know for what sin I sent affliction upon "thee? Who is able to bring back yesterday? "Who can bind with a cord the sun? Who can "tell the number of the winds? Who is able to "contend against My royal Majesty? Where didst "thou dwell when I raised up the heavens in the "air without a pillar [to support them]?' And Job "wept and said, 'O Lord God Almighty, one word "[let me speak]. Sin hath gone forth from the "mouth of the sinner, and behold, my jaws shall "be in the dust until Thy good pleasure shall raise "up my soul.'

God answers Job.

"And was it not God Who wrought what He "wrought with David the son of Jesse, who was "His prophet and His chosen one, in subjection "to Whom He placed the mountains, and the birds, "and the iron, and all the angels which cannot be "counted, and to whom He gave kingdom and "honour, and to whom He said, 'I have found in "thee the one whom I can love'?[1] And again "God said, 'I have found David, [p. 189] My "servant, who will perform My will'.[2] And doth "He not speak in the words of the prophet con-

God's dealings with David.

[1] Compare ወየኀሥሥ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ልቡ ፡ 1 Samuel xiii. 14.

[2] Compare ረከብክዎ ፡ ለዳዊት ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዕሤይ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ልብየ ፡ ዘይገብር ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ፈቃድየ ። Psalm lxxxix. 20; Acts xiii. 22.

Bathsheba. "cerning the beauty of the creation of the wife "of Uriah, and of how David thought about her, "and of how he wrote by the hand of her hus-"band to Aḳâaz, the son of Sârĕyâ, the captain "of his soldiers[1] and horses, and of how he sent "him purposely into the battle to slay him? And "David took his wife, who was very beautiful "—now in those days there was not a woman who "could be compared unto her for beauty—for when "he saw her he loved her exceedingly; but she "rejected him and would not submit herself unto "him until he had slain her husband, and then he "took her. And this became sin,[2] and he repented "of his sin the rest of his days[3] with sorrow and "tears. And he lay on his face prostrate on the "ground for forty days and for forty nights, and "as he wept he lifted not up his head. And he "mourned for the evil which he had wrought until "his hair grew and covered his head and his body, "while floods of his tears flowed down upon the "face of the ground by reason of his mighty "weeping. And he plucked out the hair of his "head, and his eyes failed by reason of the mul-"titude of his tears, until the angels who were "standing by his head said unto him, 'Who made "thee to commit this sin? But the glorious God "is Merciful.' Thus God's mercy came to him by

David's repentance.

[1] Read ሠራዊቱ ፡

[2] Some word like ኀጢአት ፡ has dropped out from the text. [3] Read መዋዕሊሁ ፡

"reason of [the affliction] in which he was. And "David hearkened unto them, and he sang in a "psalm of how God Almighty had made to dry "up all the hair which was upon his head, and "he saith in its proper place, 'O God, I myself "opened the door for this sin [to enter] into "my soul,' and behold [the account of] his weeping "and groaning[1] are written in the Book of David. "He maketh mention, too, therein concerning that "which came upon him by reason of his son Ab-"salom, and concerning the pain and labour which "he endured when he fought against him.[2] And "when that which he said in his letter reached "him, falling upon his face to the ground David "said [**p. 190**], 'O God, behold my flesh hath "perished, and my bones have waxed old, and my "moan is prolonged, and I am unable to see; "and my spittle is dried up, and my heart is cut "asunder, and my tongue is broken,' for his sin "was sore upon him. Then did God send word "unto him, saying,[3] 'Behold the voice of thy com-"plaint hath come unto me, and I have heard thy "voice, and I have considered thine entreaty, and "I have received them because thou hast re-"membered Me. And My grace is upon thee and "upon the fathers of thy blood, for I have chosen "thee, and I have loved thee, and I have made

The Psalms of David.

God's message of good to David.

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[1] Compare Psalm vi. 6; xxxviii. 9; cii. 3 ff.

[2] Compare 2 Samuel, chap. xiii. ff.

[3] Read ይብል ፡

"thee king; and I have made thee My prophet, "and for thy sake I have turned back many great "and mighty kings who are very much mightier "than thou art. And I have put a multitude of "afflictions and thy eldest son Absalom far from "thee, so that when he came against thee to- "gether with hosts of soldiers, I turned them back "because I knew [thee]; and I slew them, and I "came between thee and them, and I blotted out "their counsel. And I wrought that which thy "father Adam .... them in his prayer and re- "pentance. For when he was naked and had "hidden himself from me among[1] the trees of "the garden I said unto him, Thy life which I "have put in thee lieth in My hands. Are not "darkness and light alike [unto Me]? Dost thou "think that thou canst cover up thyself from Me? "or that thou canst hide thyself from my presence? "Where is the command with which I commanded "thee? Then I brought him out from the greatness "and from the honour which I had given him and "had bestowed upon him at the first, and after "his going forth he wept upon the ground for his "sins for forty years. And after these things he "dwelt for twenty years without raising his head "to heaven, and he wept and mourned for what "he had done. Now the sorrow of Adam for his "expulsion from My presence and for his departure "from Me was greater than that with which any

God's further speech to David.

[1] Strike out ወሰ፡

"have sorrowed either before or since. And behold, "O David, [p. 191] I have hearkened unto thy "voice, but do not think that I have forgiven thy "sins because of thy groaning, but I have diminished thy glory, and therefore I have pleaded "the cause of thy sin, that thou mightest know, "O David, that I do not act unjustly towards [My] "servants; although My wrath hath power, and "swiftly do I take vengeance. Dost thou not know "that when I was angry with the children of Israel "at the time they transgressed My law and commandment I sent upon them the Flood and the "fiery heat of the sun from the time of its rising "until noon, and that I destroyed of them seven "hundred thousand? And yet thou fallest[1] upon "thy face and thou sayest unto Me as thou weepest, "Wilt Thou be extreme to mark what is done "amiss?[2] Wilt Thou keep the sin of Thy servant "David [for ever]?[3] And now that Thou hast "taken my riches and possessions wilt Thou not "be sorry for me? Let me not, I pray, be punished "with the destruction of my people, the children "of Israel. For behold, it is I who have wrought "iniquity, and I know my transgression,[4] therefore "do not Thou punish the children of Israel for "my offence. Then will I say unto thee, Lift up

God's speech to David.

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[1] Read ወወደቅከ ፡   [2] Psalm cxxx. 3.

[3] Psalm ciii. 9.

[4] The reading አፍስየ ፡ is uncertain on account of an erasure. Read አበሳየ ፡?

"thy head, O David, for behold, I have pardoned "thee. And again, [I will say], I shall not forget "that which thou hast done until thou comest to "Me, and I will set thy sin in the palm of thy "hand that thou mayest see it at morn and at "eve, at all times, so that thou mayest never "forget that which arose through thee. Multiply "thy weeping until there be marks of [thy] tears "upon thy couch.'

God's dealings with Solomon.

"And was it not God Who worked for Solomon, the son of David, His beloved one, and "His chosen[1] one, and the child of his handmaiden? From his childhood up He gave him "wisdom and understanding, and when he became "a boy of twelve years old the kingdom over the "children of the east and of the west was given "unto him. And fiends, and demons, and men, "and all kinds of feathered fowl, and all winds, "and spirits, and seas, and darkness, and light, "were in subjection unto him; and the knowledge "of the days [was given to him], and everything "which moved upon earth was in subjection unto "him. And he built himself [p. 192] a glass house "wherein were ten thousand complete rooms, and "he built up the walls thereof so that he could "see that which was behind it; and he could hear "the worm crawling upon the tiles of the chamber "floor, and he could see the bird which was in "the air out of sight. He made all the kings of

Solomon's wonderful powers.

[1] Read ወኅሩዩ ፡

"the earth to submit unto him, and they brought "gifts unto him. And the king of Persia sent unto "him seven hundred loads of gold and precious "stones, besides costly stuffs of great price which "could not be counted. Now he had under his "dominion seventy cities of Amalek, wherein were "so many inhabitants that Solomon only knew the "number thereof. And these he destroyed, for he "destroyed many great, and mighty, and powerful "nations with calamities, and with the waters of "the flood, and with earthquakes, and with dust, "and with stones. And he sent upon them fire "and brimstone, and great calamities befel them, "and he sent upon them his anger and the strength "of his vengeance; and he rained upon them "water out of heaven which made the seed to "sprout in the earth so that he might not make "to perish good by evil. Have ye not seen this "thing when ye shave your heads?

Alexander's prophecy.

"And when ye arrive in the darkness ye shall "put on iron armour, and ye shall dwell in thirsty "places, and ye shall abide in the deserts, and ye "shall dwell with lions, and be nigh unto savage "beasts and wild animals; and when this happeneth "put ye on[1] the strength which shall deliver you, "and nothing shall profit you more than this. And "when [these things] shall be [joined] unto the "might of alms and faith in Almighty God, the "Merciful and Wise, ye shall be perfect[2] in every

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[1] The MS. has አልቡክሙ ፡ [2] Read ትከውኑ ፡

"thing, and ye shall say that ye are the children "of God Almighty, even as it is said in the Books "of God Almighty, for your merit hath gone up "to heaven. And there shall be together with all "these things weeping of the eyes[1] [p. 193], and "sorrow of spirit, and beating of the breast, and "burning of the heart, and gnashing of the teeth, "and fear of the mention of Him, and thou shalt re-"pent by reason of what hath happened through thee "and by reason of what hath come to pass on account "of thy transgressions. Now there shall be sorrow "over and above that sorrow, and sorrow upon "sorrow [joined] unto disgrace so long as is meet "for you. With such things shall all serve God "Almighty, and if ye do them not He will be "wroth with you, for He hath willed sorrow and "afflictions for us, and departure from this world "in sorrow. Now, whether ye wish to do that "which is good, or to do that which is evil, each "thing alike is according to your own desire. And "if ye do not do that which is good, nor lay hold "upon the law [of God], know ye that prolonged "afflictions and abundant weeping shall come upon "you on the morrow."

The end of Alexander's speech.

And after Alexander had said all these things and given these precepts unto them, his disciples said unto him, "O master, thy voice shall "be unto us as the voice of prophecy, for thy "words are true as the words of prophecy, and

The answer of his disciples.

[1] Read ኢዕይንት፡

"we will fear both God Almighty and thine anger. "The man that thou hast commanded hath God "commanded, and whosoever receiveth thy com-"mand hath delivered his soul from the judgment "which is prepared for the wicked."

And it came to pass after all these things that Alexander wrote a letter unto Olympias, his mother, wherein he told her of what he had done; and it was as follows:—

Alexander's letter to his mother.

"Alexander the king[1] writeth unto Olympias "his mother; peace be upon thee. I think that "thou art acquainted with what I have done in "the times past, concerning which I was wont to "send letters to thee, and now I would have thee "to know everything which I have done, and "everything which hath been accomplished by me "in every country under heaven. Now after I had "arrived in Asia I marched along the road towards "Babylon, and I picked [p. 194] out one million "warriors[2] and horsemen, and directed my way "straight to the Gates of Hercules,[3] and I spent "ninety and five days before I arrived there. "And as concerning [the Gates of] Hercules I tell "thee that I found two gates, the one [made] of "gold and the other of silver, and the length of

Alexander visits the Pillars of Hercules.

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chapp. 27—29 (Müller, p. 139, Meusel, p. 784), and the Syriac version, p. 131 ff.

[2] Read እመስተቃትላን ፡ The Syriac version makes the number of the troops to be 100,000.

[3] In the Syriac, "cave of Hercules."

"each of them was twelve cubits.[1] And as concerning this country I believed that it was on "the borders of Aleppo, but seeing that it was "not a suitable one for me [I departed therefrom]. "And I made an offering unto the god Hercules, "and I saw [in the temple] twenty thousand and five

He sacrifices to Hercules.

"hundred golden crowns made of fine gold, and "I took them.[2] Then I came out from [that] place "and marched through the desert, and I found "many countries in that desert region, but I know "not what was therein. And having journeyed "from that place for a space of five days I arrived "at a river which is called Barmûs, and round "about it were vast tracts of desert country, and "Kâfûr, that is to say, the kingdom of China (?)

The Amazons,

"wherein dwell the Samanîdîs people. And the "faces of their women are more beautiful in form "than those of all other women in the world, and

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[1] In the Syriac Alexander finds two statues, each of which is twelve cubits high and twelve cubits wide; compare the Latin version in Müller, p. 140.

[2] In the Syriac Alexander, not believing the golden statue to be solid, causes it to be bored with a borer, and the shavings which fell from it weighed 1300 *mithkâls* of gold.

[3] The Greek has ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Θερμόδοντα ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐξέρχεται χώραν πεδινὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἐν ᾗ οἰκοῦσιν Ἀμαζόνες γυναῖκας τῷ μεγέθει ὑπερέχουσαι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἑτέρων γυναικῶν καὶ κάλλει καὶ εὐρωστίαις, σπουδαῖαι εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἐσθῆτας δὲ φοροῦσαι ἄνθινας· ὅπλοις δὲ ἐρχῶντο ἀργυρέοις ἀξίναις· σίδηρος δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς οὐκ ἦν παρ᾽ αὐταῖς· ἦσαν δὲ συνέσει καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳ κεκοσμημέναι. See Müller, p. 140.

"the people of the country wear dyed garments, "but their armour and weapons are of gold, and they "have strong horses which they ride in the time "of war; and iron and brass are scarce with them, "and other nations rule over them. And it came "to pass that when I arrived at the sea I did not "cross over it, for there were great and savage "beasts therein, and they came against us and "attacked us, but we overcame them.[1]

Their customs

Beasts attack the Greeks.

"So we marched from there to the sea[3] which "goeth round about [the whole world], and to the "right were mighty mountains, and on the left was "the sea which goeth round about them;[4] and "after we had passed on from that place the army "pitched their tents and slept.[5] And on the morrow "we returned to the sea which [p. 195] is called "Dĕlîṭûn, a place where man cannot see by reason "of the deep darkness which is there; but before "we arrived we saw a number of peoples[6] who

[1] In the Greek, ἔχει δὲ καὶ θηρία πολλά· αὗται οὖν διαβᾶσαι παρετάξαντο ἡμῖν; see Müller, p. 140.

[2] Chapter xxviii. begins here.

[3] In the Greek, ἐνεχωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν εἰς τὸν Τένοντα ποταμόν·

[4] Ἦν δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν τόπος καὶ ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, τὸ δὲ ἀρεστερὸν ἡ θάλασσα ἐπέκλυζεν; see Codex A, Müller, p. 140, note 1.

[5] In the Greek and Syriac it is said that Alexander sacrificed to Poseidon, the god of the sea.

[6] "Headless men which had their eyes and mouth in their breasts, and other men with six hands and the faces of bulls, and cave-dwellers, and men with twisted legs, and hairy men like goats, and men with lions' faces"; see Müller, p. 141, col. 1.

The City of the Sun.

"dwell in that country, between whom and the "darkness is a journey of five whole days.[1] And "when we had passed from that country we came "to the City of the Sun, the circumference[2] of "which was sixty stadia, and above it was a palace "built of fine gold and emerald stones.[3] And

The Land of Darkness.

"when the day dawned and the sun rose, we "marched for a day and we came into great "darkness, and I perceived that we ought to pitch "our tents here so that the soldiers might rest; "and after the sun rose we were not able to "depart from that spot. Then I sent certain of "the Persians to march before us with lamps,[4] "and thus we arrived at the Jordan[5] which is on "the border between Asia and Armenia.[6] And

Alexander explores the Persian capital.

"when we had marched through that place I com-"manded them to journey to the kingdom of "Xerxes and Cyrus,[7] and we found therein a

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[1] In the Syriac they found five ships and put to sea in them (p. 132). [2] Read ዘኑኃ ፡

[3] Read ወእምዝበረግድ ፡ In the Greek text the City of the Sun stands on an island in the sea, where there are twelve gold and emerald towers; the circumference of the city is 150 stadia. In the middle of the city is an altar of gold and emerald with seven steps, and above stood a chariot and horses and charioteer all made of the same materials.

[4] Read በማኅቶው ፡ [5] In the Syriac Sakhan.

[6] Codex A has ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν, ὃς παραρρεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην; see Müller, p. 141.

[7] Codex A has καὶ ἤλθομεν εἰς τὰ Κύρου βασίλεια καὶ Ξέρξου *ibid*, p. 141. The Syriac has (p. 132), "Khusrau and Pâkôr".

"number of fine things and works. And the king "himself had made in his palace a shrine wherein "was a familiar idol[1] of the king of that country, "and he was wont to offer sacrifices unto it. And I "saw in the place inside it a marvellous thing which "was made of gold and which hung from the roof, "and in it was a bird like unto a dove, and it was "said concerning the bird that it interpreted to "the king things which were about to come "to him, and that no man understood its speech "except the king; and further it was said about "the bird that it had lived for a very long time.[2] "And it came to pass that when I desired to take "it down and to send it unto thee, the idolaters "entreated me, saying, 'Let it stay with us.' And "I saw another marvellous thing in that place. I "saw a silver statue[3] [**p. 196**] which was ornamented "with gold, and it rested upon a base which was "[also] ornamented with gold, and upon it was an "inscription. And it was said that it was [for-

The golden dove.

[1] In the Syriac (p. 133), it was a statue of a Greek god which, on a certain occasion, spake to the king.

[2] In the Greek text Alexander is made to see one bird in the temple, which advises him to return and not to attempt to go further, and another in the palace of Cyrus; the latter had knowledge of the language of men.

[3] In the Greek, an amphora ornamented with gold, κρατῆρα χρυσοτόρνευτον, which held about 540 gallons, μετρητὰς ξ′; see Müller, p. 142, col. 1. In the Syriac (p. 133), Alexander saw three large silver globes each of which would hold 360 measures of wine.

"merly] in the city of Dios[1] on the borders of "Egypt in the time when Persia ruled over Egypt; "and they fill it with wine when they offer sacrifice "to the gods, and when they compute the stars, "and offer up offerings. Now the house which "had been built by the king was very large, and "they made ready therein much meat so that [my "soldiers] might eat, and on its walls were [re-"presentations of] ships, and armies, and troops "of soldiers,[2] and in the midst of them was a royal "throne which was ornamented with precious stones.[3] "And in it there was also[4] a lofty canopy eleven "cubits high, which stood by itself, and beneath it "was a throne ornamented with gold, and it had "eight steps by which those who went up thereon "approached it. Above it was an eagle of gold, "the wings of which were spread out over the "throne, and [there was there] a golden tree with "seven branches, and the whole of each of the "seven branches was made of crystal and sapphire 'stones. Now all this had been made inside the "canopy. But why should I speak of the rest of

The wonders of the Persian capital.

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[1] Gr. ἐκ πόλεως Μέμφης; see Müller, p. 142.

[2] Gr. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γέγραπται ἡ ναυμαχία ἡ γενομένη Ξέρξου; see Müller, p. 142.

[3] Gr. καὶ θρόνος χρύσεος λιθοκόλλητος.

[4] The Greek mentions a harp which played by itself, λύρα αὐτομάτως, and also two cupboards of gold, the one of 16 and the other of 27 cubits, ποτηροθήκη χρυσῆ ἓξ καὶ δέκα πήχεις ἔχουσα, καὶ ἄλλη παρὰ τούτου πηχῶν κζ′; see Müller, p. 142, col. 2.

"these things? for to describe them perfectly I am "unable; and I perceive that no man is able to "tell of them adequately. Peace be unto thee".[1]

THE END OF THE CAREER OF ALEXANDER THE MACEDONIAN.

And it came to pass that, when Alexander was making merry with his friends, and soldiers, and those who were under his authority, and with Dionysius, many people were gathered together before him in Babylon that they might offer thanksgiving unto him, and admire his going forth (?); and being merry he rose up and wished to rest a little. Then came Iollas unto him and said, "O my lord the king, thy friends and soldiers "have gathered together [p. 197] wishing [to see] "thee and to make merry with thee;" and when he had thus spoken Alexander hearkened unto him, for he loved him,[2] and because of his love for his soldiers he went with him to the banqueting hall. And there were gathered together there one and twenty men,[3] who were these:— Barkisôs, Lawĕbâ, Abṭelmîs (Ptolemy), Sabanderôs, Asṭerṭîyûs, Barâbâs the king, Arûṭes, Anmâlâ, Alexander in Babylon. The Banquet.

[1] Here ends chapter 28, Bk. iii. of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

[2] In the Greek it was Medius who persuaded Alexander to go to the feast. Καὶ πεισθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ τοῦ Μηδίου δεήσει, ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ; see Müller, p. 145, col. 2.

[3] In the Greek twenty are mentioned as having been present, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παρόντες κ', but many of the names are mutilated; see Müller, p. 145, note 10.

Arûs, Kĕsĕndrôs, Lîsîmîkôs, Elkîyâs, Philip, Harkalîdôs, Arîsṭân, Neṭân, Aksṭôs, Umânes, Akrûmarkes, Serseyûs, Atren, and Namnata the king. Now Ptolemy, and Kebâs, and Lysimachus, and Lemânôs, and Kesenderôs knew what was to be done,[1] but the rest of them knew nothing whatever about it, although they were ready and willing to join in it; they feared Alexander, however, because of the great strength which he possessed. And it came to pass that when Alexander had sat down with them and they had made him drink with them one cup, Iollas gave[2] him a certain bitter and poisonous drug to drink, which they are wont to give to those who sit long over their wine, and the report [of what he had done] went round the banqueting chamber in a brief space of time. And the poison spread through Alexander's bowels, and he shrieked with the pain in his belly and liver, and the men present knew what had been done to him; and although the pain was sore upon him when he rose up [to go out from the chamber] he gave orders that drink should be given unto those who sat at table there. Now

Alexander is poisoned.

[1] In the Greek just the opposite, for Perdiccas, Ptolemy, Olcius, Lysimachos, Eumenios and Cassander know nothing, οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, of the conspiracy, but all the others did.

[2] προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ Ἰόλλας ποτήριον ἄδολον· λόγου δὲ προσπεσάντος διατριβῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ διεληλυθότος ἱκανοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἤδη τοῦ πότου παρεκτείναντος, ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Ἰόλλας ἕτερον ποτήριον ἔχον τὸ φάρμακον; see Müller, p. 146, col. 1.

they were all afraid and none of them rose up [to go] with him to minister unto him.

Then Alexander sent [for one to come] to make him sick that he might be better afterwards, and he demanded [of him] the feather of a bird, and he dipped it in the poison and handed it to Alexander, and by reason of this thing the [power] of the poison was much increased, and it passed into his whole body. And it came to pass that Alexander perceived that his pain increased greatly during the night, nevertheless he [p. 198] strengthened his courage, but on the morrow he saw that he was indeed in evil case, and that he was unable to speak with his tongue. Then he sent away all his servants from him in order that he might have a little rest from his pain and suffering. And Cassander told his friends by night what had come upon Alexander, and Iollas sent Lysimander to Macedonia to Antipater[1] his father, and he wrote a message in shorthand,[2] saying, 'Behold, the deed is done.'

His suffering.

Iollas sends news of his success to his father.

Now Alexander was unable to sleep that night, and when the day broke he ordered that none of his servants should stay with him in the chamber to minister unto him, and, moreover, he did not command his wife Roxana to come there to him. And there was in the palace a place where there was a door which led out to the Euphrates,[3] and

[1] The MS. has እንቴአጥሬ ፡ [2] ሲሚን ፡ = σημεῖον.

[3] See the passage in Müller, p. 146, note 1, beginning, τὸν καλούμενον Εὐφράτην.

at midnight, when there was no one with him, the king rose up from his couch, and extinguished the lamp, and went to the door which was open, and which led out on to the river, and crawling upon his hands and feet, he intended to drag himself out through it and to throw himself into the stream. And when he came nigh unto the river Roxana, his wife, saw him, and she hastened after him, saying, "Wouldst thou destroy (?) thyself in "the river, O Alexander, and wouldst thou drown "thyself in the watery waves?" And Alexander answered and said unto her, "What have I to do "with thee, O Roxana? Leave me, for my days "are ended. Let no man know this." Then she took him and brought him back into his chamber.

Alexander tries to drown himself.

He is saved by Roxana.

And on the morrow the king commanded that Perdiccas, and Sîmâkôs (Lysimachus) should come to him by themselves, and when they had come they took him and seated him so that he might write a testament; now these men were those who had stood by him and had ministered unto him, and they reminded him concerning what he should write, and he remained [p. 199] writing that day and that night. And on the morrow he again commanded that Perdiccas, and Kâbâs, and Ptolemy, and Lysimachus should come to him, and when they had come to him loud outcries burst out, for the Macedonians had gathered together and wished to slay the doorkeeper of the palace;[1] now they

Alexander's Testament.

The grief of the Macedonians.

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk.iii. chap. 32 (Müller, p. 146, Meusel, p. 789).

had come to see the king and to look upon him. [And Alexander asked] why they had made [this] outcry, and they told him of the coming of the Macedonians, and of what they said. Then Alexander commanded them to carry his bed and to set it down between two doors, so that the Macedonians might come to him by one door, and look upon him, and go out by the other door, for they were very many in number, and they wished to fight by reason of their great[1] anguish. Then he commanded all his soldiers to come into his presence clad in their suits [of armour]; and they all put on their armour, even as the king had commanded them, and they came into his presence. And he strengthened his heart, although tears fell from his eyes, and all the soldiers wept with so mighty a weeping that they say that the sun wept also over the king who was so much honoured. Now there was a certain man[2] there who did not belong to Alexander's generals and whose name was Bûkĕlâs, and when he came up to the king he said unto him,[3] "Thy father Philip

Alexander's last review of his troops.

The speech of Phainocles.

[1] The MS. has **እምብዝ ፡**

[2] Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν τῷ μεν εἴδει οὐκ εὐπρεπὴς, ἰδιώτης δὲ; see Müller, p. 147, col. 1.

[3] The Greek has Ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μὲν, Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ, Φίλιππος ὁ πατήρ σου ἦρξεν, ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δὲ καὶ σὺ βασιλεῦ· σὺ μεν προσλαμβάνεις ἡμᾶς· καλὸν οὖν ἡμᾶς σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν τῷ ποιήσαντι πόλιν Μακεδονίας ἐλευθέραν; see Müller, p. 147, col. 1. In the Syriac this man's speech is much longer.

"lived in his kingdom with honour (?) and without "trouble, but thy kingdom is much more glorious "than was his." And he spake unto Alexander with a sorrowful heart, in the language of the Macedonians, saying, "When thou hast departed, to "whom wilt thou leave us? for Macedonia will "be destroyed after thy [death]. It is better for "the seventy [companies] of Macedonia to die with "thee, for thou wert their helper and thou wert "he who made them to rejoice." And when all the men who were there heard [these words] they wept, and Alexander stretched forth his [p. 200] right hand and ordered them to be silent.

And when the Macedonians had departed from him he called unto the generals of his army, and ordered Perdiccas and Lekbâs to read to them the testament which he had ordered [them to write].

Text of Alexander's Testament.

"From Alexander the king, the son of [the god] "Ammon and Olympias his mother, to all his armies, "and soldiers, and generals, and to the seventy "provinces, and to the Herodians; peace be unto "you and unto the company of those who have "received the gracious gifts and honours which "we have awarded [to them], instead of to our-"selves. Now we have made our rulers more "honourable than those of other troops. I inform you "now concerning the pain, and the labour, and "exhaustion which have fallen upon me. Ye know "well how very much I honour my city [Alexandria], "and behold, I write unto you that ye may like-

Text of Alexander's Testament.

"wise honour it, and that ye may be guardians of "my name for ever. Guard my city, and protect "it, and do ye make exceeding honour to be paid "unto it continually, and do ye yourselves glorify "it, for ye must know that that city shall be an "object of praise, and that it shall shine above all "the cities [of the world], for it was built without "earth. And behold, I have already made mention "of its beauty, which is everlasting, and therefore "I have no need to publish abroad its glory at "all seasons, neither will I multiply words [con-"cerning it], but I will proceed now to make mention "of such things as are fitting.

"And, behold, I have stablished [my] testament, "and my decree, and the honour with which it is "to be honoured, and I appoint each of you thereby "to offices of public honour, and I appoint you to "the offices held by your fathers. And behold, we "order the nobles of the palace and the overseers "of the ancient temples to give ten thousand *dî-"nânîr* to the churches of Egypt and to the officers "thereof, in order that they may adorn themselves "in a fitting manner, according to the manner of "the adornment of the Egyptians. And, behold, "I have ordained that this service shall be rendered "in the royal palace so long as our authority is "in this country, and I decree that this [p. 201] "new gift shall be made from my royal[2] revenue

[1] See the Syriac version, p. 139, and Müller, p. 147, col. 2.

[2] The MS. has መንግሥት ፡

"as befitteth them. And as concerning provisions, "let them carry to the country of Macedonia from "Upper Egypt (?) of the food of Egypt to found a "city [there], in order that gifts and men may "abound therein. And I command, moreover, that "one hundred ships be made to carry two hundred "thousand measures[1] of wheat to the city each "year, and they shall make round about it one "hundred chambers of gold. And for your[2] wants "I order the [various] cities and countries to carry "for you such corn as shall be convenient for you "every year, and no man shall hinder you. And "I have appointed for you Mamâsîyûs,[3] governor "of Macedonia over Egypt, and Ptolemy over the "borders of Asia; and as for Perdiccas and Anti-"pater, behold, I command that they shall receive of "the dominion(?) which I have ordered them to receive "with Kâbâsa. O strengthen ye that which is good "[in yourselves] with one mind, and be not wicked, "for it is good for you that ye should be obedient, "and should strengthen your arms, and should make "your country to increase. O do good unto your "hearts, O do good unto your hearts. I know that "Ptolemy will hear my words, and that he will "listen unto my voice, and will strengthen me, and "it is meet that ye should honour him because he "hath submitted himself unto me. Behold now, I

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[1] Read ፳፻መሥፈርተ ፡ [2] Read ለክሙኒ ፡

[3] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 148.

"have told you that which I order you to do, and "I have not failed in that which I have commanded; "and, moreover, I promise you that I will be a "protector unto you.

"Alexander, the king, the son of the god Ammon, "and the son of Olympias[1] in times past, but now "the son of Philip the Macedonian, further ordereth "that ye may know that if a male child be borne "to me by my wife Roxana ye shall preserve and "cherish him for the kingdom, and ye shall make "him king, and shall call him after [p. 202] my "name, and he shall be a Macedonian by nation- "ality. If a daughter be borne by my wife, let the "Macedonians appoint as their king whomsoever "they shall elect—only take care of her, only take "care of her—and let him be ministered unto as "governor and chief, and let all the service which "is ordered be rendered unto him, and everything "which is fitting [be done for him].[2] If my mother "Olympias wisheth to dwell with Tĕînô,[3] let her "hear my counsel. And I choose that Elnûkyâ, "the daughter of Philip the king, shall be given

Alexander divides his empire among his followers.

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1 Read ሉምብያስ ፡

2 The Greek has ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ἐκ Ῥωξάνης υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐκεῖνον εἶναι βασιλέα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ ὅ [ἂν] δόξῃ Μακεδόσιν· ἐὰν δὲ θῆλυ γεννηθῇ ἐκ Ῥωξάνης, ἐλέσθωσαν Μακεδόνες οἷον βούλωνται βασιλέα, ἐὰν μὴ βούλωνται Ἀραδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου υἱόν; see Müller, p. 148, col. 1.

3 ἔστω Ὀλυμπιάδαι τῇ μητρὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατοικεῖν ἐν Ῥόδῳ, ἐὰν Ῥόδιοι συνδοκήσωσιν; *ibid.* p. 148, col. 2.

"to Sîmâkôs, governor of the island of Phrygia, "to wife. And Kaltĕyûnîkâ, the sister of Alexander, "shall be given to Seṭrâs (?) to wife; and Aflîḳûnyâ, "the Macedonian lady, shall be given to Yûmânes, "the writer of travels, to wife. And behold I ordain "that those who dwell in the islands shall be set "free for my sake, and all those who are in the "coasts thereof and who depend upon them. And "the country of Elĕdkĕyâ shall be given to Dîḳônes, "and Greater Africa, and Caesarea of the border, "and Layasṭrânîṭôs as far as the country which "is on the sea, and which is called Adyûsa. And "Cilicia shall be given to Yatḳûn, from Lebanon (?) "and Damascus, which is between the rivers, to "the plain of Babylon, the history of which is known "unto Seleucus, who knoweth how to write [the his-"tory] of military expeditions, and Syria and Egypt; "and to him shall be given Anîrôn, the daughter "of Alexander from Macedonia to wife. And I "declare publicly to you, O men of Macedonia, "and all my Babylonian soldiers, and my gene-"rals, and those who rule over all the provinces, "and Leṭâs, the governor of Bactria, that [all the "country] from Babylon to the country of Bactria, "shall be given to Roxana, [who is of the nation] "of the Bactrians.[1]

The division of Alexander's empire.

"And I, Alexander, command that a coffin of "[p. 203] red gold be made for me, and that they "lay my body therein, for I am Alexander the

[1] Compare Müller, p. 148, col. 2, at the foot.

"Macedonian. And I further command that every "worn out old man in Macedonia shall be made "to rest from his labours, and that honour shall "be paid unto all the guards who were in my service "from among the people of Tanîsa, who are allies "of my kingdom, and who keep my ordinances. "And Alexander ordereth Herakles that one hundred "talents of gold, and ten thousand elephants' tusks, "and one hundred talents of silver, and one hundred "golden rings shall be sent [to Delphi], according "to the gift which was given to the city in olden "time in honour of God Almighty. And I command "that they place round about the city one hundred "and fifty golden seats, and that they do likewise "in the temple. And I, Alexander the king, ordain "that Aksûmîyâs shall be governor over Syria, and "[over] Bandĕyâ which is on the river Hadestîs, "and Wad Balekarîs over India, and Alexander "of Ḳadrûn [over ......], and Roxana the wife of "Alexander the king over Druksîyâ, and Kes-"dereseyâ, and to Sefreṭen shall be given the "governorship of Kesendrôs."[1]

Gifts to be made to Delphi.

Then Alexander the king, the son of Ammon and the son of Olympias, commanded Chronos (?), the prince of blacksmiths, to make a leaden coffin, and to fill it with honey, and myrrh, and rose water, and he said, "Lay ye my body therein that "it may be kept from corruption," and thus saying, he gave up the ghost.[2]

Alexander's coffin.

Alexander dies.

[1] Compare Müller, p. 149, col. 1.

[2] When Alexander died the Persians and the Macedonians

Then straightway they made him ready for burial, and they put him in the coffin and carried it on a waggon drawn by mules, and brought it to the city of Babylon of Egypt.[1] And as they were journeying therewith they arrived at Baremân,[2] and the people of Memphis and many of the people of the government of that city went out to receive the body of Alexander the king, the Macedonian, and [p. 204] they sang divine praises [unto him]. And as they were bringing him into Egypt and were carrying him round about from place to place and from district to district in the country, Ṣîkîses, the governor, and Ḳestes said unto Kînôs,[3] "Do not bury him here, but in "the city which he himself founded, for it is meet "that his body should lie in that city without fear, "and without disturbance, and without fighting,[4] for

His body brought to Memphis.

He is buried in Alexandria.

fought over his body, for the former people wished to take him to their country and to honour him under the form of the god Mithras, βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνακομίσασθαι καὶ Μίθραν ἀναγορεῦσαι; see Müller, p. 150, col. 2, at the foot.

[1] He was brought to Memphis in obedience to the words of the oracle which said:—

ἔστι πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοὔνομα Μέμφης,
κἀκεῖ δεῖ ἐνθρονίσαι τοῦτον (Müller, p. 151, col. 1).

[2] *I. e.*, the town called by the Copts ⲂⲀⲢⲈⲘⲞⲨⲚ or ⲠⲈⲢⲈⲘⲞⲨⲚ, by the Arabs الفرما, and by the Greeks Pelusium: see Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 317.

[3] The Greek has Εἶπε δὲ ὁ ἀρχιπροφήτης τῆς Μεμφίτου ἱεροῦ; see Müller, p. 151, col. 1. [4] Read ወኢቀትል ፡

"no earthly king whatsoever conquered Alexander "the king."[1] So Ptolemy built a tomb for him [in Alexandria], and laid the body of Alexander the king in it.

And[2] it came to pass that all the days of the life of Alexander were thirty-seven[3] years. And he began the work of war when he was a boy fifteen years old, and he conquered all kings and destroyed them, and those which he left undestroyed became subject unto him; twenty and two foreign nations accepted his yoke, and thirteen [Greek] nations.[4] He founded twelve[5] cities [which

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[1] Ὧδε αὐτὸν μὴ καθυδρίσητε, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἣν ἔκτισεν πόλιν ἐν τῇ Ῥακωτίδι· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο, ἀκατάστατος ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη ἔσται, πολέμοις καὶ μάχαις ταραττομένη; see Müller, p. 151.

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 35 (Müller, p. 151, Meusel, p. 791).

[3] In the Greek ἔτη τριάκοντα δύο; the Syriac version has (p. 142) "32 years and seven months". Compare also وعمره اثنتان وثلاثون سنة وسبعة اشهر, Yâkût, tom. 1. p. ٢٥۴

[4] In the Greek Ὑπέταξε τὲ βάρβαρα ἔθνη κΒ'· Ἑλλήνων δὲ φύλας ιδ'

[5] In the Syriac "thirteen cities," and Yâkût, tom. 1. p. ٢٥٥, also gives thirteen ثلاث عشرة. The thirteen Alexandrias are:—Alexandria Bucephalus (الاسكند فى باورنقوس?), Alexandria the fortified (الاسـ المحصّنة, *Alexandria montuosa*), Alexandria Porus (الاسـ ببلاد الهند), Alexandria Granicus (الاسـ فى جاليقوس?), Alexandria in Scythia (الاسـ فى بلاد السّقوياسيس), Alexandria on the great sea (على شاطى النهر الاعظم), Alexandria near Babylon (الاسـ بارض بابل), Alexandria Sogd (ببلاد الصُّغد وهى سمرقند), Alexandria Merv (مَرْغبلوس وهى مرو), Alexandria on the rivers in India

The cities founded by Alexander.

he called] after his name. The first of these is Alexandria of Sĕhîl, the second Alexandria of Egypt, the third Alexandria of Arabia (?), the fourth is Alexandria which is near Barḳâs, the fifth is Alexandria of Kârnîkâ, the sixth is Alexandria of Persia, the seventh is Alexandria of Enṭrâôs, the eighth is Alexandria of Gebrô, the ninth is Alexandria of Babylon, the tenth is Alexandria of Bâbêṣdĕyûs, the eleventh is Alexandria of Âgmâwĕyân, and the twelfth is Alexandria of Bardes.[1]

And it came to pass that Alexander was born on the first day of the month Ṭĕr[2] at the time of sunrise,[3] and his days ended on the first day of the month Mîyâzyâ[4] at the time of

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(الاسد مجارى الانهر بالهند), Alexandria Cush (التى سُمّيت كُوش وهى بلخ) Alexandria in Persia, and Alexandria the Great in Egypt. See Yâḳût, tom. i. p. ٢٥٥; Bunbury, *Ancient Geography*, vol. 1. pp. 415, 576, 621, 623; the *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. ٢٣; and the Syriac version, pp. 143, 161. Codex A (see Müller, p. 151, note 1) says that Alexander founded thirteen cities, but mentions nine only, A. Bucephalus, A. in Persia, A. in India, A. in Scythia, A. on the Tigris, A. near Babylon, A. in Troas, A. in Susia, and A. in Egypt.

[1] It seems hopeless to attempt to emend these names

[2] This month begins on the 8th of January according to the Gregorian calendar.

[3] In the Greek it is said that he was born in January when it was new moon at sunrise, Ἐγεννήθη . . μηνὸς Ἰανναουαρίου νεομηνία, ἀνατολῆς οὔσης τοῦ ἡλίου; see Book iii. chap. 35 (Müller, p. 151. col. 2).

[4] This month begins on the 8th April according to the Gregorian calendar.

sunset,[1] and for this reason that day is called the "failing of the hours" because of the death of Alexander[2] [p. 205] and [the end of] the labours of his youthful age. And they laid his body in the new city in the peace[3] of God Almighty, Amen. And glory be unto the Bestower of gifts.

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[1] The Greek says that it was new moon when he died, νεομηνίᾳ, δύσεως οὔσης τοῦ ἡλίου.

[2] The Greek is καὶ ἐκάλησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ νεομηνίαν διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νέον τετελευτηκέναι; Müller, p. 151, col. 2. The Syriac version has, "The name of the day was called, The slayer of young men, for Alexander was a young man," but the Latin states merely, "Obitus autem ejus diem etiam nunc Alexandriae sacratissimum habent."

[3] Read በሰላም ፡

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

FROM THE "UNIVERSAL HISTORY"

OF

AL-MAKÎN.[1]

[P. 207] The ninety-second from Adam was Alexander, the son of Philip, the Greek, the Macedonian, who was surnamed the "Two-horned." Now men differ in their opinions concerning [the length of] his reign and concerning his two horns.[2] Some say that he had a place for two horns in his head, and that he hid it from men, but others say that he was surnamed "Two-horned" because he reigned over the two horns of the sun, that is, from the east even unto the west.[3] And, moreover, the chronographers differ in their statements about him and contradict each other freely. Now I, the

Explanation of the term Two-horned.

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[1] *I. e.*, Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmîd Abu'l-Yâsir; he was born at Cairo A. H. 602. His grandfather was a Christian merchant at Tekrît, and his father, who was originally a monk in the Monastery of John Colobius, became subsequently secretary for war in Egypt and Syria under Ṣalâḥ ed-dîn. Al-Makîn died at Damascus A. H. 672 = A. D. 1273—74. See Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, p. 134.

[2] Read ፪ ፡በእምኔሆሙ ፡

[3] See above, p. 46, note 1.

writer of the present chronicle, have read his history in the works of many writers, and I have also read a multitude of statements [thereon], and behold, I have chosen from the various accounts of him such things as are useful, and [I declare] that he reigned over the kingdom of Macedonia after his father, and that the days of his reign were seventeen years.[1]

Al-Makin's method

And it came to pass that when Darius, who had from of old been the king of Persia, and of Babylon, and of Nineveh, and of the other countries round about, heard that Alexander had become king over Greece, he acted insolently towards him because of his youth, and treated him with contempt. And he wrote a letter unto him [p. 208], being filled with wrath, because he had ascended the throne as king without his authority, and he addressed him in the letter with an abundance of haughty words and ordered him forthwith to enter into vassalage to him and to submit to pay a yearly tribute unto him. And it came to pass that when Alexander heard these words he was greatly grieved, and he gathered together the governors of his kingdom and took counsel with them concerning the letter; and when he had read to them the letter of Darius, they all, with one consent, decided to do battle with him. And Aristotle his teacher, moreover, shewed him that this plan was right, and he took part in the

Alexander becomes king; the fury of Darius.

Alexander determines to fight Darius.

[1] See above, p. 351.

deliberations on the matter, and he advised Alexander to set out against Darius and to do battle with him, and he spake unto him, saying, "Thy exalted star sheweth plainly that thou shalt "reign over a number of countries."

Then Alexander sent to Darius and asked him to grant him a respite of some days, in order that when he came to make his salutations into him he might bring with him such things as were of use to him.

Now Aristotle was skilled in every branch of learning, and he composed for Alexander a book of philosophy on the ordering of his ways, wherein were written certain mystical signs and symbols, that is to say talismans, and astrological calculations; and he ordered him to direct his own bodily exertions and to rule over his kingdom by what was [written] therein. And he compiled for him a number of tables, that is to say, plans or drawings, wherein a star shewed the time when he should go forth against his enemies, if he would be helped against them and so gain the victory over them. And he taught him a prayer which he should pray always, without ceasing, and he spake unto him, saying, "Know, O king, that the stars "are the head and foundation of the dispensation of "this universe, and that it is by means of them that "the world which is beneath the lowest heaven "of the moon standeth. Know, too, that a certain "section of the starry vault ruleth over each district "[p. 209] and country on the earth. Now the portion

Aristotle and his learning.

Aristotle's counsels to Alexander.

"which is over Persia hath therein the planet "Mercury, and its regent is Venus, and its guardian "is Jupiter, and its adversary is Saturn, and the "star which hath dominion over it and worketh "misery therein is the planet Mars, but the Sun "keepeth it in safety, and the Moon giveth it "strength and power. And each one of these "seven planets hath power over its fortune and "over its days; therefore, O king, do thou direct "thy course by the dispensation of the planets "Saturn and Mars, and by the spiritual force which "is in them, so that thou mayest be victorious "over thine enemies thereby."

The planets and their influence.

And Aristotle commanded Alexander to pray the petitions which he had taught him, and to remember them at all times, in order that his will might be accomplished in every country wherein he desired to go. And he spake unto him, saying, "Know, O king, that I see from thy star, "which is in the ascendant, that thou shalt conquer "the kings of Persia, and that thou shalt reign over "Persia. And the servants of the king of Persia shall "rise up against him, and shall slay him, and they "shall submit themselves unto thee, and shall "hearken unto thy orders, and he himself shall "then, after labour and suffering, have hope through "being conquered."

Aristotle foretells Alexander's greatness.

And he said unto him, "O king, behold I have "made for thee four charms,[1] that is to say, talis-

[1] Read ፬መሟልሟት ፡

"mans, and the first of these shall preserve thee "and thine army whithersoever ye go or wherever "ye dwell. It shall protect thee from plotting and "conspiracy, and it shall dispel the devices of those "who would plan evil counsel against thee, and "shall ward off their gaze from thee, and shall "prevent their hearts and minds from making "schemes of evil against thee. And the second "talisman shall enable thee to lay open cities and "fortified places. Whensoever a city is too difficult "for thee [to take], or thy hand cannot reach unto "a lofty stronghold perched in the mountains, set "this talisman opposite to the east of that city, "or against that stronghold, and it shall make a "way into it [p. 210] for thee; and the people "thereof shall submit unto thee with humbleness "and self-abasement, and they shall obey thy "behests. The third talisman shall provide thee "with water. Whensoever thou lackest water, either "on thy journey into far countries or in the "desert, set up this talisman, and it shall bring "forth water for thee, wherewith thou and thine "army shall be nourished and thy beasts and their "beasts. And the fourth talisman[1] [is a charm] "against fatigue, and it will enable thee to travel "without loss of strength, or weakness, or disease, "or sickness, and will prevent fatigue and ex-"haustion coming upon thee, or upon thy beasts, "or upon any one of thy soldiers. If thou makest

He makes four talismans for Alexander.

[1] Read ጠልሰም ፡

"thy beasts to travel thirty parasangs, that is to "say, one hundred and twenty stadia, in a day, or "if a man shall journey twenty parasangs in a "day, neither fatigue, nor exhaustion, nor thirst, "nor weariness shall come upon him."

Aristotle makes four amulets for Alexander.

And Aristotle said to Alexander, "Take with "thee [these] four amulets, that is to say, stones. "Of the first of them thou shalt make a signet in "thy ring;[1] and if any man whatsoever, or any "spirit whatsoever look thereat, they shall submit "unto thee and shall obey thy order. And if ten "times ten thousand men look thereat they shall "all submit unto thee, and shall hearken unto thy "behests. And if thou sealest a letter which is "addressed to a king, or to any other person, his "gates shall be destroyed, and as soon as he seeth "the seal his limbs will tremble, and he will submit "unto thee and hearken unto thy mandate; and "if thou settest a seal therewith upon the demons "and fiends even they will submit unto thee. The "second amulet [is a protection] against the rain, "and the ice and the snow which thou and thy "soldiers shall encounter on the way. If these "things come upon thee lift up this amulet in thy "hand towards heaven, and the cold, and the snow, "and the rain shall be put an end to, and shall "cease, and shall come nigh neither unto thee, nor "unto thy army, nor unto thy beasts, nor unto any "one of thy followers. And the third amulet do

[1] Read ኀልቀትከ ፡

"thou take with thee into battle, for then shall "the swords and spears of thine enemies [p. 211] "have no power to pierce thee, nor any man "among you, nor any one of thy soldiers. And "if it happen that thy foe would smite any one "whatsoever of thy soldiers with the sword or "with the spear, or would pierce him with an "arrow, his sword shall be blunted,[1] and the blow "shall be turned out of its course, and his stroke "shall neither wound thee nor cause thee pain. "And the fourth amulet shall prevent thy soldiers "from committing fornication, and it shall make to "cease from them the striving after women, so "that none of thy soldiers may commit fornication. "Now fornication in an army is an evil thing, "and it bringeth upon those who commit the act "an evil worse than the hand of the enemy, and "they are speedily overcome, and there cometh "upon them a plague which cannot be healed, and "because they have committed this great sin "they are defeated and overcome."

The Greeks warned against fornication.

And, moreover, Aristotle made for Alexander a box that is to say [a chest[2]], and he placed therein figures which were made in the similitude of his enemies. Now some of those that were therein had in their hands leaden swords which were curved backwards over their hands; and some of them had spears in their hands which they held

Aristotle provides Alexander with figures of vanquished foes.

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[1] Read ወይሰብጥል ፡

[2] Some word has dropped out of the text here.

head downwards; and some had bows with strings which had been cut; and he placed them in the box with their faces turned downwards, and he nailed up the box with nails, and fastened[1] it with an iron chain. And Aristotle commanded Alexander to pray the petitions which he had taught him, and he washed him with water, and purified him ceremonially for four days in the presence of [his] great army. Then he said unto Alexander, "Carry this box with thee whithersoever "thou goest and whithersoever thou encampest, and "when thou makest thy habitation in any place "lay thine own hand upon the box, and let no one, "except[2] such as are with thee among [thy] number, "lay hold upon it; and thou shalt pray with the "petitions [which I have taught thee], whenever "thou carriest it about and whenever thou settest "it down."

Alexander's victories foretold.

And Aristotle said unto Alexander, "Know, O "king, that I see [thy] star in the ascendant, and "that thou shalt reign over all countries, and that "thou shalt vanquish and overcome [all] kings, and "that thou shalt heap up [their] treasure. This I "see [that thou wilt do] by the power of thy star, "and by the conquest [**p. 212**] of thy kingdom, "and by the spirit of thy perfect nature, and thou "shalt overcome all thine enemies; go with the "blessing of God Almighty, and may His help be "with thee, and may He make straight thy path,

[1] Read ወአቀነቶ ፡ [2] Read ዘእንበለ ፡

"and gather together thine enemies into thy hand."

Now the writer of the present chronicle saith that Aristotle, the sage, did not travel with Alexander, but Philemon, the wise man, who was one of his envoys, went with him to carry out and to arrange for him all these matters which we have described. Now Philemon was a wise and most excellent man, and he made to go forth the orders, that is to say the doctrine, of Alexander's guardian, who commanded him, when any of these matters was too hard for him, to write and send a letter to him, and [who promised] to give orders about what should be done. And it came to pass that, when Alexander saw that he was wise in all things, he set him over all his kingdom, and he administered it well.

Philemon the general.

Then Alexander gathered together all his soldiers, and set out to do battle with Darius, the king of Persia. And when Darius heard that Alexander had come to him he fortified for himself five strongholds, and placed a general, who had with him twelve thousand men, over each; and a turn[1] at duty only came to each man every five days, so great was the number of men in his army. And when Alexander heard that he had fortified himself in strongholds he rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy, and he sent unto him, saying, "It is not meet and right for thee to entrench "thyself within strongholds, and to carry on a war

Alexander sets out for Persia.

[1] Read ዕብሬት፡

"from behind [stone] walls, but come forth thou "and thine army, and let us meet each other in "war and do battle with each other; for God "Almighty will give the victory unto whomsoever "He pleaseth." Then straightway Darius[1] knew that if he himself did not go out against him it would be a disgrace to him; so he and his soldiers went forth, and they met in war and did battle with each other, and the soldiers of Darius slew many of Alexander's men. And Alexander saw [p. 213] that his soldiers were perishing and that the enemy were gaining the victory, for the soldiers of Darius were more numerous than were his own. Then Alexander sent a herald round about among his soldiers, saying, "Whosoever shall slay Darius, "I will honour him above all my soldiers, and "above the governors of my kingdom." Now the soldiers of Darius heard this [also], and two of his servants, whose father Darius had slain because of his evil deeds, rose up against him and slew him in the fight; and they fled to Alexander and informed him of this thing. And it came to pass that when Darius was smitten his army was broken, and the soldiers fled, leaving him prostrate on the ground, bathed in blood. Then Alexander and his troops came on until they arrived at the place where Darius was, and when he saw him lying prostrate upon the ground, he came down from his horse and sat by the side of his head, for as

Battle of Greeks and Persians.

Defeat of Darius.

[1] Read ዳርዮስ ፡

yet the breath of life was in him. And Alexander said, "Praise be to God Almighty that it was not "one of my soldiers who slew thee, and that this "took place by the Will of God Almighty, the "Most High; now, if thou hast any commands to "make, charge me therewith." And Darius said, "Yea, I have commands wherewith to charge thee. "I desire thee to slay him that slew me; and if "thou sparest him then shall God Almighty do "unto thee even as thou doest unto me. Do thou, "also, marry my daughter, and cherish my mother;" and Alexander undertook [to do] these things. So Darius died, and Alexander stood [and walked] until [he came to] his grave.

Death of Darius.

Then Alexander made the generals of the army of Darius to come before him, and they came with glad hearts, and he confirmed them in their several ranks and grades; and after this he married Darius' daughter, and dealt graciously with his mother. And next he sought out the two men of his body-guard who had slain him, and he gave orders to crucify them upon a high place; and thus he completed their exalted position because of their treacherous behaviour to [their] king.

Darius' murderers crucified.

[The writer of this chronicle] saith [p. 214]:— And it came to pass that when Alexander had become king over Persia, and had obtained power over all the provinces thereof, and had mingled with the nobles thereof, and had held converse with them, and had seen what knowledge and power they possessed, he sent to Aristotle, saying,

Letter to Aristotle.

"Behold I have mingled with the governors of "Persia, who are many, and they are men of "understanding, and are perfect, and wise, and "penetrating, and men of noble minds, and they "are gentle, strong, and serviceable for the work "of the kingdom, but behold, I wish to slay them, "one after the other;[1] do thou, now, give me thy "counsel in this matter." And concerning this thing Aristotle wrote, saying, "Although thou art "able to slay them, slay them not, for thou wilt "be able to change neither the spirit of their "country, nor the water of their land; but rule "them well, and be submissive unto them and thou "shalt vanquish them by love, and they will be "subject unto thee." And Alexander did so.

Alexander in Babylon.

Then Alexander went to Babylon and besieged it, and he waged war against the people thereof, and took the city by assault and laid it open, and afterwards he was greatly fatigued; and he reigned over the city and had dominion over all kingdoms and countries round about. And it came to pass after these things that one half of Alexander's nobles conspired against him, and he sent to Aristotle to take counsel how he should act concerning them. And Aristotle meditated for a few days and then went forth to a certain garden which he possessed, taking Alexander's messenger with him; and he laid hold of the big trees and tore them up by their roots, and he planted smaller

Second letter to Aristotle.

[1] Read ፩ ፡ አየዩ·ማኒ ፡

Aristotle's reply.

ones in their places with patience and quietness for some days in the presence of the messenger. Then he said unto the messenger, "Make known "unto Alexander that which thou hast seen me "doing unto these trees and plants, for just as "[all] diseases are[1] not the same, even so the "means for healing every sickness are not the "same; everything which I have told thee, [go] "tell unto Alexander:" so the messenger went [p. 215] to Alexander and told him everything which had taken place and which he had seen. Then Alexander understood, and he quickly removed the governors of Babylon, and appointed others from his army in their places; and this thing became well known, and kings act in this manner unto this day.

Alexander in India.

[And the writer of this chronicle] saith:—After these things Alexander went to the country of India to fight[2] against the Indians. And he gathered together the nobles of his kingdom and took counsel with them, and they advised him to send on Salḳêrôyûs the captain of his host, and he made ready and sent with him companies of soldiers, and everything which he required in the matter of arms, and money; then he set out and arrived in the country of India. And it came to pass that when Alexander's messenger had arrived there, he sent to them his messenger and told them con-

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[1] Read ኢኮኑ ፡

[2] Read ይፅብዕ ፡

cerning all that had befallen Darius at the hands of Alexander, and how he had conquered him, and slain him, and how he had become king over his country, and what manner of man Darius was, and how numerous were his soldiers, and how great was his wealth. And he said unto them, "Do ye yourselves come under the authority of "Alexander, and lay upon yourselves tribute which "shall be paid unto him each year, and then he "will turn away from doing battle with you;" but they refused to do this thing, and he gave orders for his soldiers to join battle with them.

And it came to pass that when the armies were drawn up in battle array to fight, Alexander's general saw that the Indian soldiers were more numerous than his own, and that there were in front of them elephants which carried upon their backs large numbers of men; and it came to pass that when the elephants drew nigh the horses of Alexander's army were terrified and fled, and the army was scattered. Then Sâlḳĕrôs and the soldiers who were with him returned to their tents, and he wrote a letter and sent it to Alexander and acquainted him with that matter.

The Indian elephants.

Then Alexander rose up with his army and marched to where Salḳĕrôs was, and he and his soldiers joined themselves to his army. And Alexander took counsel with the governors of his kingdom concerning the elephants, and [p. 216] they advised him to make elephants of brass and iron which could run upon iron wheels, and he

Alexander makes elephants of brass.

ordered them to do this, and they hid them and kept them laid up by them carefully.

And it came to pass after these things that Alexander sent unto the king of India, saying, "Submit and humble thyself to me." And the king of India sent back a message unto him in similar words, saying, "Do thou thyself submit "and humble thyself to me."

Porus applies to his allies for help.

And the king of India also sent letters to the neighbouring kings, saying, "Since Alexander hath "come unto me, come ye unto me and help me, "and give me your advice, so that we may all be "of one mind and one intention, for if we be divided "Alexander will come and will capture our king-"doms, and will conquer us." And the kings consenting made answer unto him, saying, "We will come;" and they made ready and came to him with all their armies. Now one of these kings was the king of Nearer China, and another was the king of Further China, and another was king of Send (Scinde), and [another was] the king of Kusân; and various other kings agreed to come.

Then the king of India sent unto Alexander, saying, "Come, let us meet to do battle with "each other." And Alexander said, "Yea, verily, "even so let us do battle;" so Alexander and his army marched and encamped above the city of India. And Alexander ordered his men to place wood inside the bellies of the elephants, and to set fire to it, and when the morning had come he commanded them to draw the elephants on

carriages with chains of iron in front of his whole army; and the soldiers stood up and made themselves ready to fight in their ranks on the fourth day in the twenty-first year of the reign of Alexander.[1] And it came to pass that, when the Indian elephants saw the elephants which Alexander had made, they rushed upon them and laid hold on them, but they burnt themselves, and retreated, and were vanquished. Thus the army of the king of India and those who were with him were broken to pieces, and they were overcome and were utterly defeated.

Defeat of the Indian army.

And it came to pass on the morrow, [p. 217] the fifth day, that Alexander and the nobles of his kingdom were gathered together, and he spake unto them, saying, "I perceive that we have over-"come our enemies, and that they will cease to do "battle [with us] for seven days to come until they "have taken counsel together, and that the king "of India and the kings who are with him will "agree to make peace." Now one of the soldiers of Alexander was talking with the Indian soldiers concerning the customs of war, and the soldier of Alexander said unto a soldier of the king of India, "Alexander is young, and he hath no experience "in the rules of warfare. And, moreover, he is "short in stature, and hath but little strength, for "he is not like unto your king who is great of

A Greek soldier suggests a duel.

[1] The name of the month seems to have dropped out of the text.

"stature, and mighty in physical strength. Do thou, "then, counsel your king to fight with Alexander "in person, and let whichever of the twain over-"cometh the other take his kingdom, and then we "shall rest and you also will rest from this war." And it came to pass that this counsel was good in their sight and in that of their kings. And the king of India sent a message to Alexander to come and meet him in battle, that the two of them might wage war together, and he consented and the soldiers of each army mounted their horses and stood [ready]. Then Alexander went forth from his army, to meet the king of India in combat, and he said unto him, "Hast thou brought out "any one to help thee?" And the king of India turned round, and straightway Alexander thrust the spear which he had in his hand into him and killed him, and the troops of the king of India fled and were defeated; so Alexander reigned over the kingdom of India. And he bound in chains the kings who had come out to help the king of India, and afterwards he laid upon them an annual tribute, upon each of them as much as they could bear, and he set his feet upon their necks and sent them away. Then he appointed over the kingdom of India a king from among his own soldiers, and, having laid an annual tribute upon him, [p. 218] departed.

Porus and Alexander fight a duel.

And the writer of this chronicle saith:—And it came to pass that Alexander waged many wars, and became king over the seven regions of the

Alexander shuts in Gog and Magog.

earth, and he arrived at the land of Ḳaf,[1] the place where the sun riseth, and he made a strong gate and shut in Gog and Magog,[2] and he fastened it upon them with chains of iron. Now the peoples that were left lived outside the wall, and for this reason they were surnamed Tĕrkue.[3] And he came to the Land of Darkness, and there are some who say that when he wished to enter therein the people thereof counselled him and his followers to ride upon mares which were suckling foals, and that they left the foals behind them with the company of his soldiers in order that the mares might find their way back for the sake of the foals.[4] And

The Land of Darkness.

after this he went into the Land of Darkness, wherefrom he and every one of those who were

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[1] *I. e.*, القاف, the mountain which was supposed to encircle the whole world as a ring encircles the finger. The sun rose behind it, and the false dawn was caused by a hole or gap which existed in it, and in it the sun set. وان الشمس تغرب فيه وتطلع منه Yâḳût, tom. iv. p. ١٨. Popular tradition identified Ḳâf with the Caucasus.

[2] See above, p. 280.

[3] *I. e.*, Turks. A play on the name is here intended, and the writer seems to think that the name "Turk" is derived from the Arabic root ترك "to leave." Compare فسمّوا التّرك لانّ ذا القرنين قال اتركوهم فتركوهم; see Lidzbarski in Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. VIII. p. 301, l. 11.

[4] This statement is based on Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 39. Ἐπίλεξον οὖν ἵππους θηλείας ἐχούσας πώλους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πώλους ἔασον ἐνταῦθα, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσεκθόντες μετὰ τῶν θηλείων ἵππων, ἄξουσιν ἡμᾶς αὗται ἐκεῖσε; see Müller, p. 90, col. 2.

with him took both of pearls and of jacinths as many as he could carry. And some say that he carried with him ships which could be taken to pieces and laid upon the backs of camels, and that, when he wished to go to the islands of the sea, he built together the pieces of the ships and he and his soldiers embarked in them. And when he had finished what he wished [to do] and had come up from the sea, he took the ships to pieces again and laid them upon camels.[1]

Alexander's portable ships.

The writer of this chronicle saith:—And it came to pass that Alexander reigned over all kingdoms, from the East even unto the West, and all kings[2] humbled themselves before him and came into subjection to him: and his army numbered six hundred thousand horsemen. He founded two hundred great cities, some of which are [situated] in the east, and some in the west, and he founded a city by the sea of the land of Egypt, and called it Alexandria after his own name. He dug through rivers, and made rafts, and passed over(?) seas, and blotted out thirty-five[3] kings, and obtained dominion over their kingdoms. And he turned aside to Babylon [p. 219] to impose tribute and service upon it, and to arrange its affairs, and the people thereof gave him poison to drink. Now

Alexander's army and kingdom.

Alexandria in Egypt.

[1] These ships were probably wicker baskets covered with skins.

[2] Read ነገሥት ፡

[3] Pseudo-Callisthenes (iii. 35) says "22 foreign, and 14 Greek peoples."

it is said that the man who made him drink[1] the poison was the governor[2] whom Alexander had appointed over Macedonia, and that he did so because Alexander's mother had written a letter to her son making an accusation against him, and that he determined to avenge himself and wished to slay Alexander. And [when] the man had heard that Alexander had come to Babylon he sent his servant to him with many gifts, and with rich stuffs inlaid with gold, and he gave his son a deadly poison and ordered him to take an opportunity to administer it unto Alexander. Now when his servant had come to Alexander he brought to him that which he had with him, and he also gave a rich gift to Alexander's chief cup-bearer.[3] And it came to pass by the will[4] and good pleasure of God Almighty that the chief cup-bearer was angry with Alexander because he had abused him with insulting words, and it fell out that the servant [of the governor of Macedonia] came to him and found him in the state which he desired; and he made a compact with him, and the cup-bearer took the poison from him and mixed it with Alexander's drink, and gave it to him when he was drunk, and he drank it.

Antipater's plot.

Alexander's letter to Olympias.

And when Alexander knew that he must die by the poison, he wrote a letter, and sent it to his mother to tell her about himself and to console

[1] Read ዘአስተዮ፡ [2] *I. e.,* Antipater.
[3] *I. e.,* Iollas. [4] Read ፈቃዱ፡

her,[1] and he spake unto her, saying, "Know thou "that we in this world are like unto this fleeting "day which succeedeth yesterday, and that the "morrow of to-day will follow in the track of to- "day; and the path which we must follow is the "path of that which hath passed away, even as it "also hath followed in the track of that which hath "gone before. Do thou, O lady, endue thyself "with patient resignation as with a garment of "strong iron, and fear not, neither be dismayed, "nor cast down utterly. And do thou make a "great feast, and bid all men to gather together to "thee, and when they have assembled let a herald "go round about [among them], saying, 'Let every "man [here] upon whom trouble hath fallen not "[p. 220] partake of this food;' then shalt thou "discover that there is consolation in my words "[to thee]." And he sealed the paper and sent [it] to his mother, and he ordered Philemon, the captain of his host, to make all haste on the journey and to hide his death from her. And it came to pass that Alexander died[3] after a few days and was gathered unto his fathers; glory and praise be unto God Almighty Who dieth not!

Death of Alexander.

And when the letter had come to Alexander's mother, she made a feast according as he had

Olympias makes a feast; the result.

[1] Read ወይናዝዝ፡

[2] According to some he died at Babylon, and according to others at Shahrazûr, a city in northern Mesopotamia, and others say he died at Nisibis; compare ومات بشهرزور وقيل ببابل Yâkût, tom. i. p. ٣٥٧; and Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 251.

Alexander carried to Alexandria.

said, and she ordered that all men should be gathered together thereto, and that every one upon whom sorrow had not come should partake of it; and it came to pass that no one came to the meal. Thus she understood by this and became sure that in this world there is no one who is without sorrow.[1] And Philemon, the captain[2] of his hosts, prepared his body for burial, and he anointed it with aloes, and placed it in a golden[3] coffin, and poured over it the honey of bees. Then he lifted it up and took it with him, and marched by day and by night to the city of Alexandria, and he brought forth the coffin and set it down among the people.

Then came Aristotle, the sage, together with a great many of the Greek philosophers who dwelt in Alexander's kingdom, and each of them uttered some wise[4] saying over the coffin of Alexander.[5]

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[1] See above, p. 306. [2] Read ሊቀ ፡ ሐራሁ ፡

[3] The Greek says he was laid in a leaden coffin, ἐν μολυβδίνῃ λάρνακι (Müller, p. 151, col. 1), but the Syriac version (p. 141), agreeing with the Ethiopic, says a "gold coffin." Mas'ûdî (ii. p. 251) says that the gold coffin was inlaid with precious stones تابوت من الذهب مرصّع بالجواهر.

[4] Read ጥበብ ፡

[5] The following sayings are probably referred to in the passage in the Syriac version (p. 142), "They kept the body of Alexander in that place [Memphis] twelve days, and each day they made elegies and lamentations and weeping over him afresh; and they wished to retain his body there."

i. And Aristotle spake first and said,[1] "Inasmuch "as there must be an end to this world, it was "better [for Alexander] to leave it before [it came "to pass]."

Sayings of the philosophers.

ii. Anṭîgôs (Antigonus) said, "It is our fate to travel by this road, whereby we attain unto that which passeth not away, and leave behind that which doth pass away.

iii. Philemon said, "To-day hath drawn nigh the "evil which was afar off, and the happiness which "was near hath departed to a remote place."

iv. Aplâṭôn (Plato) said, "O thou that wast "smitten with the desire [to possess] the wealth of "others, and who didst gather it together in deed, "now art thou bearing thy sin, and the joy which "was thine has departed unto others."

v. Diogenes said, "Alexander went away **[p. 221]** "from us uttering speech, and now he hath returned "unto us speechless."[2]

vi. Târôs said, "To-day the sheep pasture their "shepherd."

vii. Nîlôs said, "Thou, O Alexander, dost rebuke "others for heaping up riches, for yesterday thou "wast the treasure-house for gold, and to-day thou "art thyself treasured up in gold."

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[1] See Mâsʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 252 ff; the Arabic version of these sayings is given by Eutychius (ed. Pocock, p. 287 ff.).

[2] This saying was quoted before the Khalif Wâthiḳ (see Mâsʿûdî, tom. vii. p. 186), as follows:—الاسكندر كان امس انطق منه اليوم وهو اليوم اوعظ منه امس.

viii. Another said, "He that rejoiceth in thy "death shall follow after thee, just as thou hast "followed those in whose death thou didst take "delight."

ix. Another said, "Alexander rebuked us during "his lifetime, and now in his death also he teacheth "us wisdom."

x. Another said, "Yesterday we hearkened unto "thy orders, and we were not able to speak before "thee; but to-day we speak in thy presence, and "thou art neither able to hear us nor to reply."

xi. Another said, "This man slew many soldiers "by reason of [his] love of the world, and now "he is dead and hath left it to others."

Sayings of the philosophers.

xii. Another said, "Alexander [never] rebuked "us by his words so much as he doth this day "by his silence."

xiii. Another said, "O thou whose indignation "raged at death, canst thou not now show thy "fury at death?"

xiv. Another said, "Those who were wretched be-"cause of thee were terrified[1] and afraid, and now "the wretched among those who feared thee rejoice."

xv. Another said, "O ye people, lament not for "Alexander, but weep for yourselves."

xvi. Another said, "Since formerly the surface "of the whole earth was deemed insufficient for "thee, how canst thou now contain thyself within "this narrow box?"

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[1] Read ደንገፁ ፡

xvii. Another said, "The king and the peasant "are equal in death, but the death of the peasant "rebuketh that of the king."

xviii. Another said, "Formerly thy name struck "fear [into men], and thy kingdom was exalted, "but now thy name is of no account, and thy "kingdom is brought low."

Sayings of the philosophers.

xix. Another said, "Formerly thou couldst do "both good and evil, but now thou hast no power "[to do either]; and God Almighty [**p. 222**] sheweth "mercy [only] unto him that hath done [all the] "good in his power."

xx. Another said, "Yesterday thou didst make "thyself terrible and to be feared, and now there "is none who is afraid of thee."[1]

The speech of Roxana.

And when the sages[2] had finished their lamentations Alexander's wife, the daughter of Darius, came forth from her habitation, and laying her hands upon the coffin, she wept bitterly, saying, "O king, thou who didst vanquish Darius and "didst humble him to the dust, I never thought "that death could conquer thee."

The speech of Olympias.

And after this his mother [Olympias] came forth, and laying her cheeks upon the coffin, she wept, saying, "Ye have brought to an end your words

[1] The sayings as here given are twenty in number, exclusive of those of Roxana and Olympias, but Mâs'ûdî, tom. ii. p. 252 ff., gives twenty-eight, and Eutychius, ed. Pocock, p. 287, gives thirty.

[2] Read ጠቢባን ፡

"of consolation to me for Alexander whom I feared, "and now it hath happened that we have no "victorious king left unto us. He conquered the "world before he conquered you, therefore ascribe "righteousness to yourselves; and now, I have "accepted your words of consolation."

The burial of Alexander.

Then Olympias commanded them to bury him,[1] and they buried him in the city of Alexandria at the end of the five thousand two hundred and thirty-seventh year from the creation of the world.[2] And the number of the days of Alexander were seventy-two years; he was sixteen[3] years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty-six[4] years. Now the Patriarch of Rûm,[5] Batârîkû, also sayeth thus, but Ṣa'îd the son of ibn-Baṭrîḳ,[6] and Walda Manakôs[7] say that the number of his days

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[1] According to Mâs'ûdi, tom. ii. p. 259, Olympias had the body taken out of the gold coffin and dipped in pitch, and afterwards laid in a marble sarcophagus تابوت من المرمر, for she knew that greed would draw kings from afar to steal the gold coffin. The sarcophagus was then placed upon blocks of white and coloured marbles, and the Arab historian relates that in 332 A. H. this pedestal was to be seen in Alexandria, where it was known by the name of the "Tomb of Alexander."

[2] See Brit. Mus. Orient. MS. No. 815. fol. 17*a*, col. 2, at the foot.

[3] Read ፲ወ፪ዓመት ፡? [4] Read ፶ወ፪ዓመት ፡?

[5] *I. e.*, الرّوم ῾Ρώμη νέα, or Constantinople?

[6] See Pocock, *Contextio Gemmarum sive Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, Oxford 1656, p. 295.

[7] *I. e.*, the "son of the Monk." Al-Makîn refers to Ibn

were thirty-two years, and that he was sixteen[1] years old when he began to reign, and that the days of his kingdom were sixteen[1] years. The writer[2] of this book saith that he reigned fifty-six[3] years. Now there are others who say that Alexander divided his kingdom during his life-time[4] into four parts, which he gave unto his kinsfolk and the members of his household. The first part [he gave] to Ptolemy, who was surnamed Kôladânḳes (Lagus?), and it consisted of Alexandria and the country of Egypt as far as its western boundary; the second part [he gave] to Peleskôs (Priscus), and it consisted of Macedonia as far as [p. 223] the boundary of the kingdom of Rûm; the third part [he gave] to Demetrius, and it consisted of the district of Asia, and of the country about Damascus; and the fourth part [he gave] to Sarḳerrôs (Perdiccas?), and it consisted of the country of Persia to the remotest border of the country towards the east. These are the four governors who [ruled] over the countries under Alexander, but no one of them was called "king;" now when Alexander was dead they took possession of their parts [of the empire], and were called kings.

The division of his empire.

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al-Râhib, or Abu Shâker Petrus, ibn Abi'l-Karam ibn al-Muhaddib, who was a deacon in the Church of the Virgin Mary, at Al-Muʿallaḳah, in Cairo, and who flourished about the middle of the XIIIth century. See Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 32, col. 2.

[1] Read ፲ወ፯ዓመት ፡ [2] Read ጸሐፊን ፡

[3] Read ፶ወ፯ዓመት ፡ [4] Compare I. Maccabees, 1. 6.

Aristotle's wisdom.

Now there are some who say that Aristotle, the sage, the teacher of Alexander, taught the ten sciences of the earth and established them, and that he composed many treatises on the healing of the body, besides other well known books. And he compiled for Alexander a work, which we have mentioned in a previous place, and entitled it "The Book of the Knowledge of the "Laws of Destiny," and in it [he treated of] the science of talismans, and the art of astrology, and he drew therein magical figures which [were to be used] for frightening and terrifying [men], and he further gave instructions to him that would use them how to make use of them all. Now Aristotle heard [on a time] that Alexander wished to make war upon a certain city wherein were many wise men, and these men, when the enemy came to this city, were wont to gather themselves together in the tower and in the fortress of the city, and to work their magical power, and although the enemy had weapons of war with them they were unable to vanquish them by any means, and submitted before their knowledge. Then did Aristotle make the magical figures which struck fear [into men], which we have already mentioned, and he skilfully placed in them a number of horns, great and little, and [to each he gave] a drum and a trumpet; and he commanded Alexander to keep this matter secret. And it came to pass that when he came to fight against the city he commanded his servants to sound the trumpets

An instance of his wonderful power.

and to beat the drums and to blow the horns, and straightway the wisdom of these wise men was brought to an end, and the counsel [p. 224] of the counsellors was made foolish, and he took their city; even thus was it.

And Aristotle wrote in the book which hath been mentioned admonitions which would instruct [a man] in the doing of justice, and he said therein that justice is the strength of the world, that it is the chief of all virtues, that wealth and armies increase through it, and that nations become subject through it; he said, moreover, that justice maketh [a man] to show himself friendly, and that it is the strong prop of the world. Now he likened the world unto a garden, the wall of which is kingship, and kingship is the knowledge which maketh the king to administer wisely his dominions. The king is the man who should help his army, and the king who is helped by his army shall gather together for it wealth and possessions; riches shall make a nation to gather together unto themselves benefits; uprightness shall make slaves to submit unto a [free] people; and let integrity be the working power in the beginning of thy words and in the end thereof. Know too that by it the whole world standeth, and that by the excellence thereof cities are founded, and wealth is gathered together, and that soldiers and armies increase thereby and serve a [free] people. **Aristotle's works.**

The writer of this history saith:—Aristotle translated the books of Hermes, an ancient sage of **Aristotle's works.**

the country of Egypt, out of the Egyptian into the Greek language, and he explained in his translation the sciences, and wisdom, and knowledge which were derived from them, and among these books was the "Book of Asṭemgânôs", wherein were [described] the gods of the men of olden time. And he said therein that the peoples of the seven climes of the world pay divine honours unto the seven wandering stars (*i. e.*, the planets), and that the people of each of the seven countries serve one [or other] of them, to which they bow in homage, and burn incense, and offer up oblations, and sacrifice burnt-offerings, and that the evil spirit which liveth in the star appeareth unto them, and holdeth converse with them, and granteth them their desires in everything. And besides this [he wrote] the book which is called "The Book "of Asṭâmâṭîs", [p. 225] which treateth of the breaching of cities, and fortresses, and kings' houses, and of the submission of kings, and of how men should make use of talismans and of the knowledge derived therefrom, and of the names which will bring down rain and water[1] to them in the desert and in the waste land, whensoever they utter them. And besides these he wrote a work which is called "El-Setûṭas", wherein he treateth of the knowledge of the stars, and of lucky and unlucky days, and of what it is meet for men to do when the moon entereth among the eight and

Aristotle's works.

[1] Read ወማያት ፡

twenty stars, and among the twelve stars, and when new moon is of good or of evil omen. And [he wrote] other books which treat of the healing of animals' bodies, and of stones, and of trees, and of the stone (sapphire?) which hath healing properties; and [he wrote] the "Book of the Ladder", wihch resembleth his other books of science.

Now when the day of Aristotle's death came, he commanded those who ministered unto him not **His death.** to teach their sciences unto any except such as would guard them in a meet and fitting manner; and he went to God Almighty, the Most High.

The writer of this[1] chronicle saith:—Alexander [began to] reign when he was a young man, and he sat in the kingdom for twelve[2] years and obtained dominion over all the countries of the earth. Now Zûrnahar saith in his reckoning that he became king when he was forty years of age, and that he sat in his kingdom five hundred years,[3] and that all his days were five hundred and forty years; but whosoever will follow this chronicle will say that Alexander reigned fifty-six[4] years. And God Almighty knoweth.

[1] Read ዘንቱ ፡ [2] Read ፲ወ፪ዓመት ፡

[3] This statement is probably based upon the tradition quoted by Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 135, who says that several chronographers and historians assign to the duration of the rule of the satraps, who were confirmed in their kingdoms by Alexander, and of their descendants, a period of 517 years, *i. e.*, from the reign of Alexander to the conquest by Ardeshîr.

[4] Read ፶ወ፮ዓመት ፡

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY

ABU SHÂKER, IBN AL-RÂHIB.

IN THE NAME OF THE LIVING GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE GRACIOUS, WE [BEGIN TO] WRITE THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER AS IT IS FOUND IN [THE WORK OF] ABU SHÂKER.

Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek, the Two-horned, reigned fifty-six[1] years, and [he began to reign] when he was sixteen[2] years old, and the whole number of his days were seventy-two years.[3] So likewise saith Batârîkû, the Patriarch of Rôm, but Saʿîd ibn Baṭrâk,[4] and Walda Mankâs[5] say that the number of his days were thirty-two years, and that the days of his reign were sixteen[2] years. Now as concerning [the title] "Two-horned", many The title "Two-horned".

[1] Read ፶፮ወዓመት ፡ [2] Read ፲ወ፮ዓመት ፡

[3] See the double reckoning concerning Alexander in Brit. Mus. Or. MS. No. 809, fol. 85*a*, col. 2.

[4] See above, p. 380, note 6.

[5] *I. e.*, Ibn al-Râhib, or Abu Shâker; see above, p. 380, note 7.

people hold very different opinions: some say that he had horns in very truth and that he hid them, and some say that he was called "Two-horned" because he reigned over the two horns of the sun, from the East to the West.[1]

The writer of this chronicle saith:—And it came to pass that when Darius the king of Persia, and of Babylon, and of Nineveh, and of the other countries round about, had reigned for a long time, he heard that Alexander **[p. 228]** was reigning over Rôma (Greece), and being greatly enraged he wrote to him a letter about having occupied the kingdom without his permission; and he ordered him to enter into subjection unto him, and he told him that he must undertake to pay an annual tribute. And when Alexander heard this he was greatly grieved, and he took counsel with his governors, and with one voice they advised him to do battle with Darius. And besides [the nobles] Alexander told Aristotle, his teacher, who said to him, "Fight, for [thy] star is in the ascendant, "and it sheweth clearly that thou shalt rule [over the world];" so Alexander sent to Darius asking him to appoint a season when he might bring unto him gifts.

Darius insults Alexander.

And Aristotle spake unto Alexander, saying,

Aristotle advises Alexander to fight.

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[1] See Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 249, and above, p. 46. See also Brit. Mus. MS. Or. No. 1337, fol. 159*b* ويسمي ذو القرنين اعني بذلك قرني الشمس اى انه ملك من مشرق الشمس الى مغربها ۞

"Know that to every country in the world there "belongeth a section of the stars which ruleth and "ordereth it. Now of the starry hosts which belong "to Persia is Mercury,[1] and its regent is Venus, "and its guardian is the planet Jupiter, and its ad-"versary is the planet Saturn, and the planet which "hath dominion over it and which worketh therein "misery is Mars, and the Sun keepeth it in peace "and safety, and the Moon giveth it strength and "power; each of these seven planets hath power "over its destiny and over its days. Do thou, "now, act under the influence of the planets Saturn "and Mars, so that thou mayest overcome thy "enemies."

Aristotle's talismans.

And Aristotle said unto Alexander, "Know, O king, "that I have made for thee talismans, that is to say, "figures, one of which will preserve thee and thine "army when thou journeyest and when thou art "encamping from the wiles and cunning devices "of thine enemies; and with it thou shalt make "their counsel of none effect, and it shall strip "off the coverings of their pretexts to thee. The "second talisman [is to be used by thee] for making "an entrance into cities, and fortified places, and "towers, which are [situated] on the top of moun-"tains; whensoever thou art before [p. 229] a fort "which is difficult for thee, hold up this talisman "towards the eastern side of that city, or against "that fortress, and it shall cause its gates to open

[1] Read ኢጣርድ ፡

"before thee, and its people shall obey thy com-"mands. The third talisman [is to be used by "thee to obtain] water. If thou lackest water on "the way or in the desert, hold up this talisman, "and water shall flow forth to feed thee, and thine "army, and thy beasts. The fourth talisman [is "to protect thee] against fatigue and [will enable "thee] to travel without weariness, and weakness "and sickness shall not come nigh unto thee, "neither shall fatigue and sickness [come to] thy "beasts and thine army. And if thou makest thy "beasts to march thirty parasangs, that is to say, "one hundred and twenty stadia, in one day, or "if any of thy men shall march twenty stadia [in "one day] they shall suffer neither exhaustion nor "pain."

Aristotle's amulets.

And Aristotle spake also, saying, "Take with "thee four amulets, that is to say, [four] stones. Of "one of them thou shalt make a seal in thy ring, "and should thousands of men or of evil spirits "but see it they shall do thy behests. And if "thou sealest therewith a letter which thou art "sending to another king, or to [other] beings, "they shall submit to thee, and they shall tremble "before thy mandate. And if thou liftest the second "amulet up in thy hand towards heaven, neither "rain nor cold shall come upon thee, or upon thine "army, or upon thy beasts. And if thou hast hold "upon the third amulet the weapons of thine enemies "shall have no power to injure thee; and if thy "foe would pierce or wound one of thine army,

"his spear, and his sword, and his arrow shall be "blunted, and the mark of his blow shall not be "found upon him. And the fourth amulet shall "preserve thine army from fornication and from "the lust for women, for fornication among the "soldiers bringeth [them] to ruin and defeat by "the enemy."

And Aristotle also made for Alexander a chest, and he placed therein figures which were made to represent his enemies, and they had leaden swords, which were curved backwards in their hands, [p. 230] and which they held downwards, and bows the strings of which had been cut; and he placed them in the box with their faces turned downwards, and he nailed them down with iron pegs and fastened the box with an iron chain. And he gave Alexander orders to pray the petitions which he had taught him, and to keep his hand upon the box and to let no one lay hold upon it except such as was with him. And he said to Alexander, "Know, O king, that "I myself can see [thy] star in the ascendant, and "that thou shalt reign over all nations, and shalt "conquer kings, and shalt heap up riches: go forth "in the blessing of God Almighty, and may He "make straight thy way by His help, and may "He gather together thine enemies into thy hands."

Figures of Alexander's foes in wax.

The writer of this chronicle saith:—Now Aristotle did not go forth with Alexander, but Philemon, the sage, one of his ambassadors, went with him to perform for him all these matters which we

Alexander's general Philemon.

have described; and Alexander gave him dominion over all his kingdom, and he administered it wisely and well.

Alexander sets out for Persia.

Then Alexander gathered together his army and set out to do battle with Darius, and he found that he had entrenched himself behind five strongholds, and that he had placed a governor over each, together with twelve thousand men. And Alexander sent a message unto him, saying, "It is not "meet and right for thee to entrench thyself "behind strongholds, therefore come forth that we "may do battle;" so Darius went out, for he was afraid lest disgrace should come upon him [if he did not]; and they fought. Now when Alexander saw that the army of Darius was more numerous than his, he sent a herald round about, saying, "Whosoever slayeth Darius will I honour above "all my army." And when Darius' soldiers heard [those words] two of them, whose father had been slain by him because of his evil deeds, rose up against Darius and slew him in the battle, and they fled to Alexander and informed him [of what they had done]. Then Alexander [went and] found Darius lying prostrate [p. 231] upon the ground, drenched in blood, but the breath of life was still in him. And Alexander said unto Darius, "If thou "hast any orders for me, give them to me;" and Darius said, "Yea, [I have]. I wish thee to slay "my murderer, and to marry my daughter, and "to cherish my mother;" and Alexander undertook these things and performed them, even as

Defeat of Darius.

Death of Darius.

he had said unto him. So Alexander buried Darius with meet pomp and honour, and he confirmed the soldiers of his army each in his rank and grade. [The writer of this chronicle] saith:— And it came to pass that when Alexander had become king over Persia he found the Persians to be wise and understanding in every thing, and he sent unto Aristotle, saying, "I find the "Persian governors to be men of understanding, "and suitable for the work of the kingdom: "shall I slay them? Give me thy advice in this "matter." Then Aristotle wrote unto him, saying, "If thou killest them, thou wilt not be able [to "change] either the water of their land, or the "wind of their country; therefore, rule them "graciously, and conquer them with love, and "they will be subject unto thee;"[1] and Alexander did so.

Alexander's letter to Aristotle and his answer.

Then Alexander made war upon Babylon, and he entered it and became king over it; but afterwards certain of its chief men conspired against him; and he sent to Aristotle to take counsel from him concerning them. Then Aristotle meditated in his mind, and went out into his garden, and laying hold upon the large trees he pulled them forth from the earth, and he planted in their place little trees. And he said to Alexander's messenger, "[Go and] inform Alexander of what thou hast "seen, and tell him of everything which hath taken

Alexander in Babylon.

[1] Compare Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 134.

"place;" so Alexander understood and removed each of the nobles of the city, and established his own soldiers in their places. And this thing became well known, and kings observe this custom unto this very day.

Alexander marches into India.

[The writer of this chronicle] saith:—And it came to pass after these things that Alexander sent Sarḳĕrôs, the captain of his host, together with troops to the country of India, and [when] he had arrived there he spake unto the king of India, saying, "Submit thou to the rule of Alexander, "the king, and pay tribute unto him;" [p. 232] and the king of India refused [to obey] Sarḳalôs. Now the king of India had elephants wherein he trusted. And Sarḳĕlôs sent to Alexander [an account of] all that had happened, and Alexander took counsel with his generals in the matter of the elephants, and they advised him to make elephants of brass and iron which could run upon iron wheels, and he did so. Then afterwards he sent to the king of India, saying, "Submit, and humble thyself to me;" but the king of India sent back an answer, saying, "Do thou submit, and humble thyself to me."

Alexander's elephants of brass.

And, moreover, the king of India sent letters to the king of Nearer China, and to the king of Further China, and to the king of Scinde, and to the king of Kuesân, and to other kings, saying, "Alexander hath come against me, therefore do "ye come and help me, and let us [all] be of one "mind [in this matter], for if we be divided he "will seize our kingdoms and conquer us;" and

League of Indians and Chinese.

the kings consented, and straightway they came to him. Then the king of India sent unto Alexander, saying, "Come, let us do battle;" and Alexander and his army marched [to the ground which was] above the city of India. And Alexander ordered them to put wood in the bellies of the elephants, and to set light thereto, and after this they dragged the elephants along upon carriages with iron chains, and they stood among the ranks of the soldiers. Now when the Indian elephants saw those which Alexander had made they rushed out to them and laid hold of them and burnt themselves; and they turned and ran back, and the Indians were defeated with a great defeat.

The Indians defeated by red-hot elephants.

And it came to pass that the Indians encamped nigh unto [the Greeks], and a certain soldier of Alexander who had been sent to the Indian army counselled the Indians, saying, "Alexander is young, "and he hath no experience of the rules of war. "And, moreover, he is short in stature and hath "but little strength, for he is not like your king "who is great in stature and very strong. Counsel "ye, then, your king to do battle with Alexander "[in person], and [p. 233] whosoever shall overcome "his fellow shall take his kingdom, and both we "and you may rest from this fighting." Now this word of counsel was good in their sight and in that of their king, and both Alexander and the king of India went out from their armies and did battle with each other. And Alexander said unto him, "Hast thou brought out any one to help thee?"

Duel between Alexander and Porus.

Porus slain

And [when] the king of India looked behind him, straightway Alexander drove the spear which he had in his hand into him and killed him; and he bound in chains the kings who had come to help the king of India, and he imposed an annual tribute upon them.

Summary of Alexander's travels and exploits.

The writer of this chronicle saith:—Alexander waged many wars, and ruled over the seven climes of the earth; and he came to the land of Ḳaf,[1] to the place where the sun riseth, and he built there a gate and shut in Gog and Magog, and he closed it with chains of iron. Now these peoples who were left lived outside the gate, and for this reason they were called Terkû.[2] And he came to the Land of Darkness, and there are some who say that when he wished to enter therein the people there counselled him and his followers to ride upon mares which were suckling foals, and that he left the foals with the company of his soldiers that the mares might find their way back for the sake of their foals. And he went into the land of darkness and he brought therefrom pearls and jacinths, as did each and every one of those who were with him. And some say that he carried with him ships [made in] pieces which could be loaded on camels, and that whenever he wished to go to the islands in that sea he put them together and embarked

[1] See above, p. 372, note 1.

[2] *I. e.*, Turks, see above, p. 372, note 3.

therein, together with his troops, and that when he had come forth from the sea he took the ships to pieces with which he loaded camels for transport.

The writer of this chronicle saith:—Alexander ruled from the East even unto the West, and he abolished thirty and five kings, and obtained the dominion over their kingdoms, and the soldiers in his army amounted in number to [p. 234] six hundred thousand horsemen. And he founded a city in the country of Egypt, and called it Alexandria after his own name. Then he turned aside to Babylon to impose tribute upon it, and it is said that the governor of Macedonia sent his servant to Alexander to make him drink poison and to kill him, because of the evil which he had done unto him. Then this young man went and made a compact with the chief cup-bearer, who gave Alexander the poison to drink mixed in his drink when he was drunk, and he drank it. And when he perceived that he must die he sent a letter to his mother, saying, "Know thou, O lady, that we "in the world are like unto this fleeting day which "succeedeth yesterday. Sorrow not, but make a "great feast and gather together all sorts of men "and say unto them, Whosoever hath been attacked "by sorrow let him not eat of this repast. Then "straightway shalt thou know that there is con-"solation in my words." And he sealed the letter and sent it to his mother, and he ordered Philemon, the captain of his host, to hide his death [from

Founding of Alexandria.

Alexander poisoned.

His letter to Olympias.

her], and to hasten on his journey with all speed; and Alexander died after a few days.

The feast of Olympias and its teachings.

And it came to pass that when the letter reached his mother [Olympias], she made a feast and she gathered together to it [all sorts of] men, and she ordered that those [only] should eat upon whom death and sorrow had not fallen; but no man drew nigh to the repast, and then she knew that there was none in the world who had not [suffered] sorrow. And Philemon prepared his body for burial,[1] and anointed it with aloes, and placed it in a golden coffin, wherein he poured the honey of bees, and he brought it to Alexandria and laid it among the people. Then came forth Aristotle the sage and a number of the Greek philosophers who dwelt in Alexander's kingdom, and each of them uttered some philosophical saying over the coffin.

Sayings of the Philosophers.

i. Aristotle spake first, [p. 235] and said, "In-"asmuch as there must be an end to this world, "it was better for Alexander to leave it before "[it came to pass]."

ii. Anṭâkis (Antigonus?) said, "It is our fate to "travel by this road, whereby we attain unto that "which passeth not away, and leave behind that "which doth pass away."

iii. Philemon said, "This day hath drawn nigh "the evil which was afar off, and the happiness "which was near hath departed to a remote place."

[1] Read ገነዘ ፡

iv. Plato said, "O thou that wast smitten with "the desire [to possess] the wealth of others, thy "joy hath departed unto others.

v. Diogenes said, "Alexander went away from "us uttering speech, and now he hath returned "unto us speechless."

vi. Târôs said, "The sheep follow their shepherd." Sayings of the Philosophers.

vii. Nîlôs said, "This man is rebuked for [grasp-"ing] the possessions of others, for yesterday Alex-"ander was the treasure-house of gold and to-day "he himself is treasured up in a [golden] coffin."

viii. Another said, "He that rejoiceth in thy "death shall follow thee, even as thou hast followed "those in whose death thou didst take delight."

ix. Another said, "Alexander rebuked us when "he was living, and now in his death he teacheth "us wisdom."

x. Another said, "Yesterday we hearkened unto "thy orders, and we were not able to utter a word "before thee; but to-day we speak before thee, "and thou hearest us not and dost not speak "unto us."

xi. Another said, "This man slew multitudes of "soldiers by reason of [his] love for the world, "and now he is dead and hath left it unto others."

xii. Another said, "Alexander never rebuked us "by his words so much as he doth this day by "his silence."

xiii. Another said, "O thou whose indignation "raged at death, canst thou not shew thy fury at "death?"

xiv. Another said, "Those who were wretched "because of thee were terrified and afraid, and "now the wretched among those who feared thee "rejoice."

xv. Another said, "Weep ye not for Alexander, "but weep for yourselves."

xvi. Another said, "Since formerly the surface "of the whole earth was not sufficient for thee, "how canst thou now endure [lying] in [p. 236] "this narrow box?"

xvii. Another said, "The king and the peasant "are equal in death, but the death of peasants "can teach kings wisdom."

Sayings of the Philosophers.

xviii. Another said, "Formerly thy name struck "fear into men, and thy kingdom was exalted, but "now thy name is of no account, and thy kingdom "is brought low."

xix. Another said, "Formerly thou didst do both "good and evil, but now thou hast no power [to "do either]; and God Almighty sheweth mercy "[only] unto him that hath wrought all the good "in his power."

xx. Another said, "Yesterday thou didst make "thyself terrible, and to-day there is none who "feareth thee."

And it came to pass that when the sages had ended their lamentations, the wife of Alexander came forth and said, "I never thought that death "could conquer thee, O thou that didst conquer "Darius." Then Alexander's mother came forth and spake, saying, "Ye have ended your words

Speeches of Roxana and Olympias.

"of consolation to me. I feared Alexander, and "now it hath come to pass that there is no "victorious king left. He conquered the world "before he conquered you; therefore ascribe "righteousness to yourselves. And now, I have "accepted your words of consolation." Then she commanded them to bury him, and they buried him in the city of Alexandria in the five thousand, two hundred, and thirty-seventh year of the world. Blessed be all Christian folk for ever and ever, Amen.

THE HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
FROM THE "HISTORY OF THE JEWS"
BY
JOSEPH BEN-GORION.[1]

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREEK, THE SON OF PHILIP, AND OF HIS CONFLICTS WITH DARIUS, AND OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE JEWS, AND OF OTHER MATTERS CONNECTED WITH HIS HISTORY.

Philip the Macedonian.

The writer of this history saith:—Philip, the father of Alexander, was the mightiest of the kings of the Greeks, and he conquered all the nations who lived round about him, and they all were in subjection unto him; and the years of

[1] Pseudo-Josephus, or Joseph ben-Gorion, flourished in the ninth or tenth century of our era; he is famous as the author of the "History of the Jews", which he wrote in six books. The references given below are to the edition of the Hebrew text printed by Breithaupt in the year 1710 (יוסיפון בן גוריון *sive Josephus Hebraicus, videlicet: Rerum memorabilium in populo Judaico tam pacis, quam belli tempore gestarum inprimis de excidio Hierosolymitano,* Gothae et Lipsiae, MDCCX).

his reign were seven years. And he was killed in fighting, but the cause of his murder was one of his noblemen[1] called Fûrês,[2] who lusted after his wife,[3] the mother of Alexander, and who had sent a message to her persuading her to lie with him,[4] and for this reason he desired to slay Philip and to take her to wife. Now when he was not able to attain unto this thing he lay in wait for a favourable occasion to kill him. And it fell out that the enemy rose up against Philip, and they plundered his country, and he sent a general with an army to fight against the enemy, and he also sent his son Alexander with a large army against them by another road. And when Fûrês saw that Philip's army had gone forth to battle in great numbers, and that he himself [p. 238] was left behind with very few men, he gathered together his friends, and they attacked Philip and wounded him with many blows until he was half dead;[5] and all the people that were in the city were in an uproar. And it came to pass that at that hour Alexander returned from battle,[6] and when he drew nigh unto the city he heard the

Fûrês attacks Philip.

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[1] The MS. has ሀቢ፡ or ሀቤ፡ = ዐቢይ፡

[2] In the Hebrew אושנים. [3] In the Hebrew נביארש.

[4] Heb. לקחת את נביארש המלכה אם אלכסנדרוס; see Bk. ii. chap. xiv. (p. 111).

[5] In the Hebrew Philip falls out of his chariot half dead through a blow which Ôsanîs struck him on the head, ויך את פיליפוס על ראשו ויפל מעל מרכבתו ארצה כמת׃

[6] In the Hebrew, "from Armenia."

shouts and cries of the people and asked what was the cause of this matter; and they told him what had happened to his father. Then Alexander went to his father quickly, and found him prostrate and half dead, and his mother a prisoner in the hands of Fûrês the nobleman, and Alexander slew Fûrês.[1] And it came to pass that Philip died from his wounds, and Alexander his son reigned after him, being twenty years old; and he was of a wise and understanding nature,[2] and the name of the teacher who taught him was Aristotle the sage.

Alexander slays Fûrês.

Death of Philip.

Now the appearance of Alexander was not like unto that of his father and mother,[3] and[4] it is said that his face was like the face of a lion; his eyes, too, were dissimilar, for the right eye was black and looked downwards, and his left eye resembled exactly that of an eagle, and it looked upwards. His teeth were long and narrow like the teeth of a dog, and he was strong and bold from his youth.

Alexander's appearance.

And it came to pass that when Alexander had

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[1] This story is based upon that told in Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. i. chap. 24, where, however, the would-be lover of Olympias is called Pausanias, who, having been brought into Philip's presence by Alexander, is slain by the dying king.

[2] Read ከዊኖ ፡

[3] See Bk. ii. chap. 12 (p. 102 at the foot), and chap. 14 (p. 114).

[4] The words ዜና ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ለእስክንድር ፡ are probably a marginal note which has crept into the text.

Alexander determines to attack the Persians.

become king over the Greeks he made them to hold him in exceeding reverence. And he determined to make war against Darius, but first of all he did battle with all those nations who lived round about his kingdom, both near and afar off, until he had made them all to submit unto him, and he appointed certain of his ministers [to rule] over them.

And next Alexander marched to the country of the west, and conquered it, and he tarried there until he made the peoples to submit to him, and he made a treaty with them with mighty oaths, and he took certain of their warriors and made them chiefs of his army. And when he had done these things [p. 239] and there were no [other nations] left to fight with [there], he marched against the peoples who were under the dominion of Darius, and made war upon them; and as he was journeying to the country of Syria he opened up places for unloading ships, that is to say, ports for ships, on the shore of the sea.

Alexandria founded.

Then he marched against the place of the Sanctuary[1] in order to make war upon the Jews because they were under the dominion of Darius. And it came to pass that as he was journeying along the way he saw a man of pleasing countenance, and he was dressed in white apparel, and he had a sharp sword in his hand which glittered

An angel appears to Alexander.

[1] *I. e.*, Jerusalem. The Hebrew has וישם פניו לעלות לירושלים: see Bk. ii. chap. vi. (p. 85).

like lightning; and he made known to him that he wished to slay him therewith. And Alexander quaked with fear, for he knew that he was a messenger who had been sent from God Almighty, the Glorious, and Most High God, and he fell from his litter, and bowed down to the ground, and said unto him, "O my God, why wilt thou slay thy "servant?" And he said unto him, "Because thou "desirest to march against the Holy Place, and to "blot out the priests of God Almighty and His "nation also. I am a messenger whom God Al-"mighty hath sent to help thee to conquer kings "and nations, and I will be of use unto thee at "this time." Alexander said unto him, "O my "lord, pardon thy servant, for behold, I have sinned, "and if I have done aught which thou likest not, "let God Almighty bear with me until I return "to mine own country."[1] The messenger said unto him, "Behold, thou hast confessed thy sins. When "thou hast come into the place of the Sanctuary "thou shalt see a man of shining form clad in "white apparel, who shall resemble me both in "form and appearance; get thee down from thy "horse and do homage unto him, and listen unto "everything which he biddeth thee, and refuse "him not, for if thou refusest thou shalt perish."

The angel's speech.

And Alexander marched from that place to the Sanctuary. And it came to pass that when the

[1] שא נא פשע עבדך בי אדוני ואם רע בעיניך אשוב לי׃ (see p. 86).

Jews heard of his coming to them they were afraid of him, and when the high priest and all the [p. 240] Jews who were in the Sanctuary knew of it they fasted and made supplication unto God Almighty the Glorious and Exalted, and they entreated Him to deliver them; then they went forth to receive Alexander as he drew nigh unto the city,[1] and the high priest[2] was in front of them. And when Alexander saw the priest he thought that he was like unto the messenger whom he had seen on the way, and he was mindful of what he had ordered him to do, and he made haste and came down from his horse, and fell upon his face, and he saluted him and magnified him. Then the kings and the nobles who were with Alexander marvelled at these things, and they were stupefied at what he had done, and they spake unto him, saying, "O great king, wherefore hast thou come down from thy horse and hast paid homage unto a man who hath no dominion over thee, and who is only as one of thy subjects[3] and servants?"[4] and Alexander related to them the history of the messenger whom he had seen and what he had ordered him [to

The Jews fast.

Alexander's homage to the high-priest.

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[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 24: Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews,* Bk. xi. 5; and Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 7.

[2] Called Jaddua or Ananias.

[3] Read **እመርዔትከ ፡**

[4] Heb. מדוע השתחוית לאיש הזה אשר אין לו כח למלחמה: ; see Bk. i. chap. 7 (p. 86).

do]. Then the high priest saluted Alexander with honour and majesty, and Alexander went with him until he brought him into the Sanctuary; and when he had come in he marvelled and praised and glorified God Almighty, and blessed Him exceedingly because He had made him worthy to come therein. And Alexander said unto the priest, "I would that something whereby I should be remembered in this Sanctuary should be done for "me. I will give thee gold, and let them make "therewith figures like unto myself, and place them "in this Sanctuary that they may be a memorial "of me therein." The priest said unto him, "It "is not meet that statues or images like unto "thyself should be made and placed in the Sanctuary "of God Almighty, only paintings, such as were "wrought in olden time,[1] are seemly. I, however, "counsel thee to bring the wealth which thou art "about to bestow to this place and to give it for "the support of the priests, and the orphans and "the sick who pray therein continually. And let "me [p. 241] set before thee a good thing whereby "thou wilt be remembered. Let me give orders "to all the priests that every male child born in "this year shall be called by thy name of Alexander, "and as they come into the Sanctuary they will "make mention of thy name therein, and thus

Alexander and the high-priest converse.

Priests to be called Alexander.

[1] There is no authority in the Hebrew for the last part of this sentence. Compare כי אין לנו רשיון מאת אלהי לקבל פסל וכל תמונה:; see Bk. ii. chap. 7, p. 87.

"there shall be a memorial to thee before God, "the Glorious and Exalted, at all times." And Alexander was pleased with this thing, and he made much wealth to be brought to the house of God Almighty, and he gave to the priests abundant tithes. Then Alexander said unto the priests, "Make enquiry of God Almighty the most "High concerning myself and concerning my desire "to make war against Darius, and whether it is "the wish of God Almighty or not; [if it is not] "I will return to my own country." The [high] priest said unto him, "Return to thy way, O king, "for God Almighty is with thee, and He will "make thee to vanquish Darius in his kingdom." Then he brought forth to him [the Book of] Daniel[1] the prophet—on whom be peace!—and informed him of the matter of the ram which he saw, which pushed with his horns against whosoever drew nigh unto him on every side. And he spake concerning the coming of the he-goat which attacked the ram with a horn and butted him, and broke his horns, and threw him on the ground, and stamped upon him with his feet, and overcame him, and the ram could find no deliverance from the goat. Then the [high] priest said unto Alexander, "Dost thou know, O king, what is symbolised by "the coming of the he-goat? Now it is Darius "who is symbolised by a ram, and thou shalt "overcome him as Daniel the prophet—on him

Alexander and the prophecy of Daniel.

[1] See Daniel vii. 6; viii. 3—8, 20, 21, 22; xi. 3.

"be peace!—related." And Alexander's courage was strengthened by these words, and he commanded [an account of] everything which had happened to him by the way to be written down, and he sent it to Greece and to Macedonia.

Then[1] Alexander departed from the Sanctuary and marched against Darius. And he came to Nôblôs,[2] and Sanballat the Samaritan received him and brought him into his house, and he entreated him, and all his soldiers, and [p. 242] friends with great kindness, and he brought to him rich presents without number, besides gifts of most wonderful things. And Sanballat entreated Alexander to give him permission to build a sanctuary on Mount Karbarîm,[3] which is called Ṭûr-bazêl. **Alexander and Sanballat.**

The author of this book saith:—And Sanballat wished to build a sanctuary for Manasseh, his daughter's husband, who was a priest in the Sanctuary of the House of God Almighty, and who had married the daughter of Sanballat. Now at that time the elders of the Jews had commanded those who had married strange wives, who did not belong to their kin, to separate themselves from their wives, and they [all] accepted their orders and separated themselves from them, except Manasseh the priest who refused to separate himself

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[1] Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 8, begins here.

[2] Nablûs.

[3] *I. e.*, in Mount Gerizim לבנות מקדש בהר גריזים; see Bk. ii. 8. 2.

from his wife, the daughter of Sanballat, and for this reason the Jews put him away, and reduced him from his grade; and he went together with his wife unto Sanballat, his father-in-law, and he dwelt with him. And Sanballat wished to build a sanctuary in Ṭûr-bazîl like unto the Sanctuary of Sâlêm, so that men might gather themselves together there, and that he might say unto them, "This is the place which God Almighty, the Glorious "and Exalted, hath chosen," so that [his son-in-law] might not cease from his position. And when Sanballat asked Alexander, he said unto him, "I "grant what thou hast asked, that is, to build the "sanctuary;" and then he went on his way. Then Sanballat built a sanctuary[1] in Ṭûr-bazîl, and placed his son-in-law in it as priest, and he said unto the Jews, "This is the place which God Almighty, "the Glorious and Exalted, hath chosen to bless, "wherein it is meet that men should go and pray, "even as Moses saith in the Law, 'I will put My "blessing in Mount Kerbarîm.'"[2] And many of the Jews received these things, and they journeyed to Ṭûr-bazîl each day bringing their offerings,[3] [p. 243] oblations, and tithes, and gifts; and they forsook the Sanctuary[4] of God Almighty, and they lightly esteemed it, and kept at a distance therefrom, and

Sanballat's sanctuary on Mount Gerizim.

[1] Read መቅደሰ ፡

[2] Compare Deuteronomy xi. 29. ወታጉብእ ፡ በረከቱ ፡ ለዕለ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ጋሪዝን ፡

[3] Read መባኢሙ ፡ [4] Read መቅደሰ ፡

wealth increased in that sanctuary. And its priests and ministers waxed rich, and the Sanctuary in Sâlêm suffered, and the fame of Manasseh increased, and his wealth grew, and the renown thereof pushed aside the fame of the true Sanctuary; and many of the Jews went there, until at length Hyrcanus, the son of Simeon, destroyed it. And we make known concerning it according to what we have found written in the history thereof.

The sanctuary in Jerusalem forsaken.

And[1] it came to pass that when Alexander had set out for the east to make war upon Darius, he encamped by the river Euphrates, and when Darius heard news of him, he wrote a letter to him, saying:—

Alexander sets out for Persia.

"From Darius, the king of the kings of all "nations, to Alexander the Macedonian. Know, "O Alexander, that God Almighty hath magnified "mine honour and my dominion over all the world, "and He hath set it under my sovereignty and "authority. Why hast thou with the Macedonians "dared to come to the Euphrates without my de-"sire? Would nothing serve thee but that thou "must set thy foot upon my territory, and invade that "of my friends? It is more meet for thee to ask "[my permission] in every matter which thou "wouldst do, in the manner in which a man en-"treateth his God, and thou shouldst have done "nothing whatsoever without my order. Now I "command thee to come to me quickly, and to

Letter of Darius to Alexander.

[1] See Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 15 (p. 115).

"tarry not; if thou refusest [to obey] my order, "thou wilt involve thyself in punishment from me. "If, however, thou dost consent to come quickly "I will pardon thy transgression, and will deal "graciously with thee."

Defeat of Darius and capture of his wife and family.

[The writer of this history] saith:—And Alexander was not afraid of the letter of Darius, and he marched on with his army, and he lighted upon Darius' multitudes of soldiers, and a great battle took place between them; and the Persian hosts fled and Darius escaped from the battle. Then Alexander sent and made prisoners of his mother, and wife, and children, and he captured [p. 244] his soldiers, together with their possessions; but Darius fled and escaped by night into a stronghold and hid himself therein. And Alexander turned back [from pursuing him], and gave orders about the burial of the dead nobles of Persia, and all who had been slain; and he abode in that place a few days.

Alexander pursues Darius.

Then the chief of his nobles came unto him with a multitude of soldiers, and Alexander ordered him to gather together the army and to pursue him, and when the soldiers, and mighty men, and warriors had come to him they marched to the city wherein Darius had taken refuge. Now Alexander had heard already of the size of the stronghold and that there were many[1] men there. And he gave orders to gather together the oxen

[1] Read ወብዙኃት ፡

and the cattle, and the horses and the mules, and all the animals that were in that country, and he made the people to collect wood, both twigs and branches of trees, and he bound them upon the backs of the beasts, and he drove them about hither and thither, dragging the wood behind them on the ground. For by the movements of the beasts he wished, craftily, in this wise to throw up a large quantity of dust into the air, so that when Darius, looking from his fortress, saw the great cloud of dust darkening the air, he might imagine that it was caused by [the passage of] a very great number of horses and soldiers, and seeing the soldiers might be afraid, and so not send one of his own men from the fortress.

Alexander's stratagem.

And[1] it came to pass that Alexander wished to send ambassadors to Darius, but as he was afraid that he would lead them astray and would keep them by him by means of crafty excuses, having put off the ornaments which were upon his apparel, he went himself; and he took with him one of his friends[2] upon whom he could rely, and three of the best horses. And he marched until he arrived at the great river[3] which was near[4] unto the city, and he found it frozen over. And he commanded him that had come with him to tarry by the river

Alexander disguised goes to the camp of Darius.

[1] See Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 15 (p. 118).

[2] *I. e.*, Eumelus (see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 14), in Hebrew אואימולון.

[3] *I. e.*, the river Stranga, in Heb. ארסטגן.

[4] Read ቅሩበ ፡

with two of the horses, and having clothed himself in [p. 245] the garments of a pedlar,[1] he mounted the third horse and rode off by himself [on the ice] over the river, until he arrived at the city. And when the men who guarded the gates of the city saw him, they said unto him, "Who "art thou?" And he replied, "I am a messenger "of Alexander to Darius the king, and I come with "a message;" so the guards told Darius, and he ordered them to bring him in. Now when he had come into the presence of Darius and saw the magnificent state in which he lived and the majesty of his royalty, fear laid hold upon him. And Darius said unto him, "From whence art thou?" And he said, "Alexander hath sent me unto thee bearing "a message summoning thee to come and do battle "with him, and he saith unto thee as follows:— "If thou delayest to meet me in battle and dost "not come forth to war, behold thy cowardice and "timidity in fighting thine enemy will be apparent." [The writer of this book] saith:—And Darius was enraged at these words, and he said, "Thou, surely, "art thyself Alexander, and therefore hast dared "to speak such words as these unto me." And Alexander replied, "I am not Alexander, but only "his messenger;" and Darius marvelled at his words, and made him to sit down at his table, and he ate with him. Now when they brought forth the wine,

Alexander sees Darius.

[1] The Heb. has:—ויתחפש וילביש אלכסנדרוס בגד שרי מקדון ומגבעת על ראשו כמגבעות של מקדנים :

and the cup-bearer[1] brought the cup to Alexander to drink from it, he took it and threw it in his apparel and did not drink at all.[2] Then Darius said unto him, "Why doest thou this?" and he said unto him, "This is the custom at drinking of every "one who cometh to the table of my master Alexan- "der." And it came to pass that when a certain man who had been among the ambassadors from Darius to Alexander heard Alexander's speech, he recognized him thereby, and he said secretly unto him that was opposite, "This man himself is "Alexander." Now the drinking-cup was [made] of gold. Then[3] [seeing that he was recognized] Alexander rushed forth to the gates of the city by night, and slew those who guarded them, and so escaped; and when Darius knew this he sent soldiers after him to take him, but they found him not, for he was ahead of them, and the night was dark. And Alexander went on until he arrived at the [p. 246] frozen river whereon he set out to ride, but as he came towards the opposite bank, the ice melted before he could come forth from the river, and being mounted on his horse, he swam, and crossed the river, and saved himself;[4] and the water kept back Darius' men from

Alexander feasts with Darius.

Alexander recognized.

His escape.

[1] Read ቀዳሒ ፡

[2] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 15.

[3] Read ወእምዝ ፡

[4] In the Greek text the horse is drowned; see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. ii. chap. 15.

following Alexander, and they did not pursue him. And he went on until he came to his officer, whom he had left with the two horses, and they mounted them, and they rode back to the army.

He arrives safely in camp.

And it came to pass that Alexander tarried a short time and then went to make war upon Darius, and Darius came forth against him, marching together with soldiers upon the river, the waters of which were at that time frozen. And they lighted upon a second army of Greeks, and a great battle was fought, and the Greeks overcame the Persians, and Darius fled, and made his escape by way of the river, where he found the remainder of his army in full flight. And it came to pass that when they were in the middle of the river, the ice melted, and a great number of them were drowned; but Darius was saved and went back to his fortress, weeping at his overthrow. And he wrote to Alexander a letter of entreaty, and he spake unto him, saying, "I will give thee much wealth, but I "require thee to give back to me my wife and "my daughter, and not to lay waste my country." And when Alexander had read his letter he said, "If Darius escape me, behold his possessions will "be left, and if I take him all his riches will fall "to me."[1] Then Alexander abode there until the winter had passed, for the cold was exceedingly great.

Second defeat of Darius.

[1] The Hebrew (p. 121) gives a different meaning אם ינצחני אין זהבו שוה לי כלום אבל אם אנצחנו כל זהבו בידי׃.

And it came to pass that Darius went to Mâṭbîn,[1] and he sent to Porus, the king of India, to help him to make war upon Alexander. And when Alexander knew this, he went to seek him, but Darius' soldiers were afraid of Alexander, and as they wished to make themselves friends of his by slaying Darius, they killed him. And when Alexander arrived there he found Darius lying prostrate [p. 247] with but little of the breath of life in him, and he was grieved for him, and wept over him, and he came down from his horse and lifted him up from the ground, and he embraced him in his bosom, and continued to cherish him until he died. Then Alexander ordered that he should be buried with great pomp and ceremony, and having laid his body in a coffin they bore it away for burial; and Alexander and the nobles of the Greeks went before the body uttering cries of grief and sorrow, until they buried it in the tombs of the kings of Persia, and then Alexander ordered the men who had slain him to be slain. Thus Alexander subdued all the kingdom of Darius, and he conquered the Persians, and they submitted unto him, and there was not left among them any who resisted him.

Darius writes to Porus.

Death of Darius.

Alexander becomes king of Persia.

And it came to pass that, when Alexander had ended his fighting, and had vanquished and subdued the kingdom of Persia, he marched to the country of India, and the king of India went forth to meet him with a large army and with a great

Alexander attacks Porus.

[1] Heb. הלך דריוש אל ארץ באטנין. The country of Bactria?

number of elephants. And when Alexander saw the elephants he was afraid lest his horses should be gored by the tusks of the elephants, for they had not been trained to fight with men mounted on elephants. And Alexander ordered his men to make elephants of brass, and he poured naphtha into them—now he had made the elephants of brass blown out hollow—and he set them on carriages, and at the time when the armies were about to meet in battle they thrust lighted paper through the holes of the elephants' bodies, so that they might burn up the elephants of India. And it came to pass that when the elephants of India saw the elephants of Alexander they thought that they were elephants like themselves, but when the armies met in battle the flames of the naphtha came forth from the elephants of brass and burnt the elephants of India and the men who were mounted on their backs, and those who were left of the Indians fled.

Alexander's brazen elephants.

Now the war between the Macedonians and the Indians was prolonged until a great number of Alexander's soldiers were destroyed, and [those that remained] took counsel together to lay hold of Alexander and to deliver [p. 248] him over to the king of India. And when Alexander knew this thing he sent a message to the king of India, saying, "Behold, the war between us hath been "prolonged and many of our men have perished, "let us now make a firm agreement together and "let us two leave our armies behind us, and meet

Alexander and Porus fight a duel.

"in combat with each other; whomsoever God "maketh to be victorious over the other shall "bring his kingdom into subjection." And this advice appeared good unto the king of India, for he thought that he could easily overcome Alexander, for Alexander was small and slender of body, while the king of India was lofty in stature and thick in body. And they fought together and their strife waxed long, and as they were fighting Alexander said unto the king of India, "Wouldst "thou be false to thine agreement?" and thus saying he made a sign with his hand that he should look behind him. And the king of India imagined that what Alexander had spoken was likely to be true, and he turned his face behind him that he might see if any of his men were coming to him, and straightway Alexander smote him with his short spear in his belly and killed him. Then Alexander went into the country of India, and tarried there a few days.[1]

Death of Porus.

Alexander visits the Brahmans.

And it came to pass that Alexander marched from India to the country of Persia in order to see the sages who lived there, for he had heard of their excellence and wisdom. And when he had drawn nigh unto them they sent messengers unto him, saying, "If thou hast come to make "war upon us, [know] that we never make war, "and that there is nothing in our country which "thou canst take away: if thou comest to hear

[1] See Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 17 (p. 127 ff).

"our wisdom, it will be more seemly if thou "comest to us without soldiers and without weapons "of war, and in humility."

Alexander converses with the Brahmans.

[The writer of this history] saith:—And Alexander went to the sages and found that they were naked, and that they had upon them no clothing whatsoever except that which covered their shame; they had no abiding places wherein to dwell except booths, and they had cisterns of water which [p. 249] they had dug. Now their country was called the "City "of the Blessed," and the brightness of their minds and their wisdom were well known.

And Alexander asked[1] one [of them], saying, "Which are the more numerous, the living or the "dead?" And he said, "The dead are the more "numerous. Among the living the poor exceed "the rich in number, and poverty is like death, "and the number [of the poor] is as the number[2] "of the dead."

And to another he said, "Who is he that desireth "and seeketh after the sovereignty which is unjust "and which consisteth only of the shedding of "blood, and violence, and oppression? Whosoever "doeth this hath not in him the fear of God Al-"mighty; now the fear of God is the beginning "of wisdom."[3] And he said unto him, "Sovereignty "belongeth unto God Almighty, Who withholdeth

[1] The first question and answer, according to the Hebrew, are omitted; see Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 17 (p. 129).

[2] Read በኍልቈ ፡ [3] Compare Proverbs I. 7.

"[it] as He pleaseth, and giveth it to whom He "pleaseth."

And to another Alexander said, "Which is the "older, light or darkness?" And he said unto him, "Darkness is the older. Now this is evident, for "the child in the womb is like the darkness, and "after[1] his mother hath given birth unto him he "cometh forth to the light."

Alexander converses with the Brahmans.

And Alexander said to another, "Who is He "that cannot be deceived? And he said unto him, "He that cannot be deceived is God Almighty, "for from Him nothing can be hidden, and He is "the righteous God." And Alexander asked them concerning many things, and they returned answers to his questions.

And Alexander said unto them, "Tell me what "is your desire",[2] and they said, "We wish thee "to give us everlasting life." Alexander said unto them, "This belongeth not to me, and I am not "able [to do] this." And they said unto him, "Who "then maketh thee to labour in all these wars? "And why dost thou gather together all [these] "possessions? For thou knowest that after death "none of them will remain with thee, and that "they will perish; further, thou knowest not who "will be king after thee." And Alexander said unto them, "This is the decree of God Almighty, "the Glorious and Exalted, and it is He Who "directeth kings according as He desireth, and

[1] Read ወእምድኅረ ፡ [2] Read መፍቅድክሙ ፡

"they become [p. 250], as it were, servants of "Him Who doeth according to His will. He "raiseth up kings, and to him that worketh right-"eousness He sheweth Himself gracious, and him "that worketh wickedness and iniquity He de-"stroyeth. It is He Who maketh kings to rule, "and it is He Who openeth out to them the whole "world, and it is He Who gathereth together riches "for them. And, behold, I have opened out the "boundaries of mighty lands and countries, and "I have subdued the kings of the earth every-"where, in the east and in the west, in the south "and in the north, and I have gathered together "riches. And I shall leave [all] these things to "whomsoever cometh after me, even as I have "received them from him that was before me. "And God Almighty, the Glorious and Exalted, "hath decreed these things in His creatures that "His good will and pleasure may be [wrought] in "the world, for if He had not desired us to do "them, and had not holpen[1] us therein, then nothing "whatsoever would have been accomplished by us. "I find that my own soul loveth ease, and tran-"quillity, and peace, and rest, but the Will of God "desireth battle, and the gathering together of "riches, and toil, and the going into peril and "destruction; and if I were to seek death when "danger presseth hard upon me, I should not "find the way thereof. And, moreover, it is not

Alexander's speech to the Brahmans.

[1] Read ወይረድአነ ፡

"of my own wish that I do these things, for it is "God Almighty Who moveth me thereto. If God "Almighty, the Glorious and Exalted, were not "[to place such thoughts] in the hearts of men "and so move them to labour, the work of the "world would never be carried on. And if God "had not implanted in them the love of gathering "together, and of hoping, and of labouring therein, "none of the works connected with the sowing "and planting of the world would ever be done, "and men would be weary of every toil wherein "they labour, and they would never desire the "fatigue of journeying or travelling by land or by "sea. And if men did not these things then none "of them would find anything which he [p. 251] "desired either for his daily bread, or for the "improvement of his condition, and the world would "in a very short time be destroyed, and the race "of men would die out and come to an end. For this "reason God Almighty hath willed that men shall "do the work which is in the world, and He hath "ordained that the children of Adam shall toil for "the improvement of their position and for their "mutual advantage, that the good will and pleasure "of God Almighty, the Glorious and Exalted, in "respect of the condition and ordinances of the "world may be accomplished thereby."[1]

Everything is done on earth by God's decree.

[1] Here ends Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. 17; for the Greek text of the questions which Alexander put to the Brahmans see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. iii. chap. 6.

Alexander's further travels.

[The writer of this history] saith:—Then Alexander, wishing to journey to the ends of the world and to the ends of the earth, and to see what there was therein, left the naked sages, and he hath narrated many things concerning the creatures [which were there], each of which was different in appearance and in nature from his fellow.[1] And he journeyed on until he passed beyond the places wherein men dwelt, and he came to a desert land[2] and to a spot wherein dwelt no man and where there was nothing but wild beasts; and here, and in every other place wherein he journeyed, he saw many wonderful things, animals,[3] and trees, and plants, and the description [of them] which he left behind is written in his book. And Alexander did not cease to travel round about through the earth until he arrived at Babylon[4] and saw the wonderful things [there]; and he strengthened his sovereignty, and nations submitted unto him, and he vanquished kings, and carried spoil[5] from them, and the treasure-houses of the earth were uncovered before him.

Alexander in Babylon.

He is poisoned and dies.

And it came to pass that the chief of his host, who was called Elṭaḳîs,[6] took counsel to kill Alexander, and he made a compact with the cup-bearer who gave him his wine, and he administered unto him

[1] See Breithaupt, p. 132—149.
[2] See Breithaupt, p. 149. [3] Read እንስሳ ፡
[4] See Joseph ben-Gorion, Bk. ii. chap. xxii.
[5] Read ንዋዮሙ ፡
[6] The Hebrew has אנטיפטארוס, Antipater.

a deadly drug which he put for him[1] in his cup.[2] Now Alexander had before this been angry with his cup-bearer[3] and had punished him, therefore did the cup-bearer take vengeance upon him and give him poison to drink. And Alexander died at Babylon, and Anṭapîs[4] put him in a coffin of gold and took him to Alexandria, where he was buried. Now the days of Alexander's [p. 252] life, until he died, were thirty-two years. He began to fight in battle when he was a boy fifteen years[5] old, and he had subdued the whole earth, and the kingdoms thereof, when he was a young man ..... seven years old;[6] and he continued to conquer until he died. Now, his birth took place at sunrise, and his death happened at sunset,[7] on the fourth day of [the month] which is called by the Egyptians of Miṣr Barmâdâ,[8] and which in Gĕʿaz [is His reign.

[1] Read ለሞቱ ፡

[2] According to the Hebrew the poison was so strong that it would eat through any vessel made of iron, or brass, or pottery, or glass; only a leaden vessel remained untouched by it. וירקח את המשקת מסם המות וישימהו בכלי עופרת כי לחזקו לא מצא כלי ישימהו בו ולא ישבר רק כלי עופרת וינסהו בכלי ברזל ונחשת וכלי חרס וזכוכית לא היה כלי אשר לא נבקע מרוב חריפותו; see Breithaupt, p. 150. [3] *I. e.,* Iollas, Heb. אליאוס.

[4] *I. e.,* Ptolemy, Heb. איפטולמואוס.

[5] In the Hebrew, "eighteen years" ובן י"ח שנה התחיל להלחם

[6] The text is corrupt here. The Hebrew says that when he was twenty-five years old he had conquered twenty-two kings ובהיות בן כ"ה שנה נצח כ"ב מלכים והכניעם תחתיו; see Breithaupt, p. 151. [7] Read ጊዜ ፡

[8] *I. e.,* برمودة = Coptic ⲪⲀⲢⲘⲞⲨⲐⲒ = March 27 to April 26.

called] Mîyâzyâ;[1] and the history of his words and deeds is written in the books[2] of the Greeks and of the Persians.[3]

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[1] This Ethiopic month begins on April 8. The Hebrew text calls the month Iyyar אייר (see Breithaupt, p. 151), and says that Alexander was born and died on the fourth day of this month.

[2] Read መጽሐፈ፡

[3] Compare ויתר דברי אלכסנדרוס וגבורותיו הנם כתובים על ספרי מדי ופרס: see Breithaupt, p. 152. The Hebrew text adds that he reigned twelve years, for he was twenty years old when Philip died.

THE HISTORY OF THE DEATH

OF

ALEXANDER THE MACEDONIAN

BY

AN ANONYMOUS WRITER.

The writer of this history saith:—And it came to pass that when Alexander had become king over all kingdoms, from the east even unto the west, all kings submitted unto him, and became subject unto him. And his soldiers amounted in number to six hundred thousand horsemen, and he founded two hundred great cities, some of which are in the east, and some of which are in the west, and he founded a city on the Egyptian sea and called it Alexandria, after his own name; and he forded rivers, and made rafts, and passed over seas. He blotted out forty and four kings, and obtained dominion over their kingdoms. And he turned aside to Babylon to see the works there, and to direct the affairs of the city, and they gave him poison to drink. It is said that the man who poisoned him was he who had been appointed prefect of Macedonia by Alexander, and that he did so because Alexander's mother had written and sent to her son a letter of accusation against

Alexander's army and conquests.

Plot to slay Alexander.

him, and asked that he might be punished, and Alexander wished to slay him. Now when the man heard of this [p. 254] he sent his servant to Alexander with many gifts and rich stuffs, and he gave him a deadly drug, and ordered him to take an opportunity of administering the poison which he had with him to Alexander. And it came to pass that when the servant[1] had come to Alexander he brought in to him that which he had with him, and he made a gift of great value to the chief cup-bearer of Alexander. Now it was the good will and pleasure of God Almighty that the chief of the cup-bearers of Alexander was angry with him because he had treated him with contumely; and the servant of the prefect of Macedonia coming at that time found him in the state of mind which he wished him to be in; and he made a compact with him, and he took the drug from him, and mixed it with the wine and gave it to Alexander to drink when he was drunk, and he drank it. And it came to pass that, when he knew that he must die of the poison, Alexander wrote a letter and sent it to his mother informing her of it and consoling her about himself, and he spake unto her, saying, "Know thou, O "lady, that we in this world are like unto to-day "which passeth away and followeth in the track "of yesterday, and that to-morrow [will follow] in "the track of [to-day]. And our path is to follow

Alexander's Letter to Olympias.

[1] Read ወልዱ፡

"that which hath passed away[1] even as it followeth "in the track of that which hath gone before. Do "thou, then, O lady, array thyself in patient endurance as with strong armour of iron. And "fear thou not, neither be dismayed, and grieve "not, but make thou a great feast and bid [all] "people to be gathered together to thee, and when "they have assembled let a herald go round about "[among them], saying, 'Let no man who hath been "attacked by sorrow taste of this food;' and then "shalt thou know that consolation lieth in my "words." And he sealed the letter and sent it to his mother. And he commanded Philemon, the general of his host, to hide his death [from his mother], and to travel [to her] with all speed; and after a few days he died and came to his fathers. Glory be to God Almighty, the Living God, Who dieth not.

Death of Alexander.

And it came to pass that when the letter reached his mother [p. 255] she made a feast even as he had said, and she bade [all] men to come to it and those upon whom sorrow had not come to partake of it, but no man drew nigh to partake thereof; then she knew of a certainty that there was no man in the world who was without sorrow. And Philemon, the captain of the host, made Alexander's body ready for burial, and he preserved it with aloes,[2] and laid it in a golden coffin, and poured the honey of bees over it; then he

The feast of Olympias.

Alexander buried in Alexandria.

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[1] Read ዘኃለፈ ፡ [2] Read በሚሌወ ፡

rose up and took it[1] with him, and marched day and night until [he came to] the city of Alexandria, and he brought forth the coffin[2] and set it among the people. Then Aristotle, the sage, and many of the Greek philosophers who dwelt in Alexandria came forth, and each of them pronounced certain words of wisdom concerning him over Alexander's coffin.

The sayings of the philosophers.

i. And Aristotle spake first, and said, "Inasmuch as "there must be an end to this world, it was better "[for Alexander] to leave it before [it came to pass]."

ii. Antiochus said, "It is our fate to travel by "this road, whereby we attain unto that which "passeth not away and leave behind that which "doth pass away."[3]

iii. Philemon said, "To-day hath drawn nigh the "evil which was afar off, and the happiness which "was nigh hath departed."

iv. Plato said, "O thou that wast smitten with "the desire [to possess] the wealth of others, and "who didst, indeed, gather it together, now art "thou bearing thy sin, and the joy which was thine "hath departed unto others."

v. Diogenes said, "Alexander went away from "us uttering speech, and now hath he returned "unto us speechless."

vi. Târôs said, "To-day the sheep pasture their "shepherd."

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[1] Read ወወሰዶ ፡ [2] Read ለንፍቅ ፡
[3] Read ለዘይበሊ ፡

vii. Lînôs (Nilos) said, "Thou, O Alexander, art "rebuked for heaping up the riches of others, for "yesterday thou wast the treasure-house for gold, "and to-day thou art thyself treasured up in gold."

viii. Another said, "He that rejoiceth in thy death "shall follow thee, even as thou hast followed those "in whose [p. 256] death thou didst take delight."

ix. Another said, "Alexander rebuked us during "his lifetime, and now in his death also he teacheth "us wisdom."

The sayings of the philosophers.

x. Another said, "Yesterday we hearkened unto "thy orders, and we were not able to utter a word "before thee; but to-day we speak in thy presence, "and thou art neither able to hear us nor to reply."

xi. Another said, "This man slew multitudes of "soldiers by reason of [his] love of the world, and "now he is dead and hath left it unto others."

xii. Another said, "Alexander never rebuked us "by his words so much as he doth this day by "his silence."

xiii. Another said, "O thou whose indignation "raged at death, canst thou not show thy fury at "death?"

xiv. Another said, "Those who were wretched "because of thee were terrified and afraid, and "now the wretched among those who feared thee "rejoice."

xv. Another said, "O ye people, lament not for "Alexander, but weep[1] for yourselves."

[1] Read አስቆቅጡ ፡

xvi. Another said, "Since formerly the surface "of the whole earth was not deemed sufficient for "thee, how canst thou now contain thyself within "this narrow box?"

xvii. Another said, "The king and the peasant "are equal in death, but the death of the peasant "rebuketh kings."

xviii. Another said, "Formerly thy name struck "fear [into men], and thy kingdom was exalted, "but now [thy name] is of no account, and thy "kingdom is brought low."

xix. Another said, "Formerly thou couldst do "both good and evil, but now thou hast no power "[to do either]; and God Almighty sheweth mercy "[only] unto him that hath done [all the] good in "his power."

xx. Another said, "Yesterday thou didst make "thyself terrible and to be feared, and now there "is none who is afraid of thee."

Sayings of Roxana and Olympias.

And when the philosophers had finished their lamentations, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Darius, came forth from her house, and laying her hands upon the coffin she wept bitterly, saying, "O king, thou who didst vanquish Darius, and "didst humble him to the dust, I never thought "that death could conquer thee." And after this his mother [p. 257] came forth, and laying[1] her cheeks upon the coffin, she wept, saying, "Ye have "brought to an end your words of consolation

[1] Read ወእንበረት ፡

"to me for Alexander, whom I feared, and now "it hath come to pass that we have no victorious "king left unto us. He conquered the world before "he conquered you, therefore ascribe righteousness "unto yourselves; and now I have accepted your "words of consolation." Then she commanded them to bury him, and they buried him in the city of Alexandria at the end of the five thousand, two hundred and thirty-seventh year from the creation of the world. And the number of the days of Alexander were seventy-two years; and the writer of this book saith that he reigned fifty and seven[1] years.

[1] Read ፶ወ፮ ፡ "fifty-six?"

THE

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER,

BELONGING TO

THE HOLY REDEEMER OF THE WORLD.[1]

A CHRISTIAN ROMANCE.

IN THE NAME OF GOD ALMIGHTY, THE TRIUNE GOD, THE GOD OF OLDEN TIME WHO NEVER HAD A BEGINNING, THE GOD OF AFTER TIME WHO SHALL NEVER COME TO AN END, WE BEGIN TO WRITE THIS BOOK OF THE EXPLOITS AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALEXANDER THE KING, THE BELOVED ONE OF GOD; MAY HIS PRAYERS AND BLESSING BE WITH HIM THAT LOVETH HIM! AMEN.

The author's prayer.

[P. 259] Open, O God, the eyes of our heart, that we may perceive with the eyes of our mind the glory of Thy dominion, and the wisdom of Thy wonderful works, the sign of which is in Thy servants who fear Thee. Thou dost strengthen those who do Thy Will, and who have restrained their bodies from fornication by setting Thy will be-

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[1] See above, p. 2, note 4.

fore every other thing. O Lord God Almighty, how often dost thou perform the will of those who are in heaven and upon earth! Thou dost hide them under Thy shadow, and Thou dost cover them with Thy garment. What is to be preferred before the love of God Almighty? And what [**p. 260**] is more to be desired than the setting of God before all things? And what is sweeter than the word of God Almighty? even as it is said by the prophet, "O taste ye and know that God is good."[1]

And in this wise did Alexander the king rule by the Will of God Almighty, and he removed from himself the lust of the flesh, that is to say, the thought of fornication, and by purity of heart and by cleanness of mind he overcame the lust of the flesh. He never polluted his body with lust unto the day of his death, being able to work patience through the love of God Almighty, even as it is said concerning the eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the love of God Almighty, "They have penetrated His "depths, and they have found that there is nothing "to be preferred, or to be desired, or which is "more lovely than the love of God." And a certain writer saith, "How blessed is he who loveth Thee, "O God, for he shall gain two kingdoms, [one] in "heaven, and [the other] upon earth." And again it is said, "He giveth power unto our kings, and "He exalteth the horn of His anointed one;"[2] and

Alexander's chastity.

[1] Psalm xxxiv. 8. [2] 1 Samuel ii. 10.

again, "He blesseth the years of His righteous ones, "for His strength is not as the strength of men." This is the gift which God Almighty giveth unto him that hath restrained his heart with[1] His love, and hath not tainted it with the pleasure of the lust of the flesh, even as did Elijah the Tishbite the desert-dweller in Horeb.[2] He overthrew the shrines of devils,[3] and slew three[4] hundred priests of the god and ministers of the temples of Jezebel,[5] for he had restrained his body from fornication, and by his word he kept the heavens from [giving] rain,[6] because his prayers were pure and well pleasing unto the Most High, and to those who may be compared unto him for virginity and for the fear of God are given their desires. And like unto Elijah was Alexander[7] the king. He restrained his body [p. 261] from fornication and from pollution, and by his prayers he kept back devils[8] from the holy city,[9] and shut them up inside the

Alexander compared unto Elijah.

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[1] Read ምስለ ፡ [2] See 1 Kings xvii. 1; xix. 8.

[3] *I. e.*, the altars of Baal. [4] See 1 Kings xviii. 40.

[5] The priests of Baal were 450, and the prophets of the Asherah, who fed at Jezebel's table, 400 in number; see 1 Kings xviii. 19.

[6] See 1 Kings xvii. i.

[7] The name of Alexander is, throughout the MS, written in red ink.

[8] *I. e.*, the twenty-two impure nations among which were enumerated Gog and Magog; see above, p. 280.

[9] The allusion is not quite clear, but the writer seems to have in his mind the prophecy of Ezekiel, that "Gog shall come against the land of Israel," see Ezekiel xxxviii. 16, ff.

everlasting mountains in the Land of Darkness[1] which they were not able to penetrate. He removed from his kingdom the evil-doers, and every worker in magic, and every idol, and he made the kingdom of God Almighty to be manifest in uprightness, wherefore God Almighty set up for him his kingdom. And He gave him dominion over one thousand[2] kingdoms, and he obeyed His voice wholly for nine and twenty years with exceeding honour,[3] and reverence, and Godfearingness, and humility of spirit, and goodness; and he was zealous in fasting and in prayer.

Alexander's kingdom.

Elijah went up to heaven mounted on horses of fire,[4] and Alexander penetrated the Land[5] of Darkness until he came to the Country of the Living. Elijah was fed by the mouths of impure ravens[6] with pure bread from God Almighty, and Alexander penetrated the windless Sea of Darkness by means of the impure wings of eagles which drew [his] ships along.[7] Elijah,[8] having smitten the waters of the Jordan[9] with his rough sheepskin cloak, passed boldly through them with his disciple Elisha,[10] and Alexander, having confidence in his

[1] See above, p. 265.

[2] A poetical way of expressing the fact that Alexander subdued all the peoples from the east to the west.

[3] Read ክብር ፡ [4] See 2 Kings ii. 11.

[5] We should rather expect በሐገረ ፡

[6] See 1 Kings xvii. 6. [7] See above, p. 278.

[8] Read ኤልያስ ፡ [9] See 2 Kings ii. 8.

[10] Read ኤልሳዕ ፡

God that neither he nor his army would be blotted out, entered boldly into the Sea of Darkness.[1] Who then shall be able to terrify him that trusteth in God Almighty, and who doeth His will, and who preserveth the purity of his virginity together with compassion for the poor, and [the giving of] alms and oblations? Elijah in his virginity, and in his labours of fasting, and in his ascetic life, was like unto John [the Baptist,] and Alexander in his sovereignty, and in his alms and oblations, and in his humility was like unto Honorius;[2] [p. 262] and these four were pure in virginity, and had never polluted their bodies.

Alexander and his companions in chastity.

CHAPTER I.

Address to the unchaste among men.

Hear these words, O all ye who are unable to abstain from your wives, and all ye who defile your bodies with women other than your wives, and all ye who scoff insolently at virginity! When God Almighty created our father Adam, He gave him one wife, He did not give him two or three, but He gave him one only; and He said unto them, "Increase and multiply, and fill the earth."[3] And similarly He commandeth all His children to marry one wife only.

O thou who dost curse our father Adam, and

[1] See above, p. 281.

[2] *I. e.*, the Emperor Flavius Augustus Honorius, born A. D. 384, died A. D. 423.

[3] Compare Genesis i. 28.

dost say, "Why did he transgress the command-"ment of his God and bring death upon us, his "children, so that we cannot dwell in the Garden "of Delight without labour and death?" To thee [I say], "Why dost thou transgress and dost take "unto thyself other women to wife? Did not God "command thee to dwell with one wife?" Blessed is the man who doth content himself with his wife, and who worketh not impurity with [the wife of] his neighbour! For he who keepeth himself pure with his wife shall become the heir of the land of the living, and he that hath kept his body in the state of virginity from his youth up shall increase twofold; for his petition shall be granted unto him by his God, even as it is said, "The "prayers of the pure shall be accepted."[1]

And thou, O woman, why dost thou curse the making of our mother Eve by God Almighty in olden time? Prithee dost thou remember thine own deeds, and how thou dost make thyself to be trusted [p. 263] by thy husband, and also by God Almighty through the words of thy false swearing? But thou art not faithful, and by thy going out of the right path hast become an abomination even like unto thine own uncleanness whereby God cursed thy mother Eve for her transgression of His command, saying, "To every "woman shall be a week of blood."[2] Now thy mother Eve never heard, as thou dost hear this

Address to women.

[1] Compare Proverbs xv. 29. [2] Leviticus xv. 19.

day, the words of the Book of the Law wherein Moses commandeth, saying, "The woman that "falleth into sin with any man except her husband "shall be stoned;"[1] and again [he saith], "If a "woman in the time of her virginity fall into sin "and transgress, she shall be slain together with "him that made her to sin."[2] And yet thou, O woman, who hearest these words from priests, both new and old, with understanding, dost swear falsely and dost curse our mother Eve, wishing to justify thyself, and sayest, "This is what our "mother Eve wrought for us. She hath brought "upon us curse, and tribulation, and sickness, and "death, and uncleanness, and sorrow of heart, "and in pain must we bring forth children; our "entreaty must be to[3] our husband, and he must "be our place of refuge, and he is lord over us "and over our children."

Address to women.

And thus thou sayest, O woman, and thus dost thou curse thy mother [Eve] who understood not the first battle with the Adversary, and who knew neither the words of the Prophets, nor the preaching of the Apostles and Evangelists, who water with their doctrine all those who will hearken unto their admonitions, and those who will listen to their words, whether they be those who are in the bonds of matrimony, or those who are in the state of virgins, or those who are widowers, or

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[1] Deuteronomy xxii. 22.

[2] Deuteronomy xxii. 23, 24.

[3] Read ኀበ ፡

those who abstain from carnal intercourse. But thou, O woman, hast heard the voice of the [**p. 264**] Prophets and Apostles, and yet thou hast not restrained thyself, but hast gotten for thyself a husband to feed thee, and to clothe thee, and he would sell himself for thy sake and for that of thy children, and he would traverse sea and land to please thee, and he would plough the ground, or steal, or labour, or sweat for thee so that he might obtain thy favours! And yet thou dost steal away thine honour and dost swear false oaths, which have no advantage, in transgressing the commandment of God Almighty! Dost thou not know that the eyes of God Almighty are brighter than seven thousand suns?[1] And dost thou imagine that He cannot see thee? He knew thee before He created thee in the womb of thy mother, before He made thee a creature of this world, how much more, then, can He see thee under the roof of thy house, and through the garments which thou puttest on? And He is wroth with thee because thou hast acted craftily with thy husband who hath gone a journey for thy sake.

The habits of the adultress described.

Thou watchest carefully that there be none to see thee, not even a member of thy household or any of thine handmaidens, and if thou thinkest that they have found

[1] The allusion is to Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 19 (ed. Dillmann, p. 78, col. 2) ወኢያአምር ፡ ከመ ፡ ዐይነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይበርህ ፡ እምአእላፈ ፡ ፀሓይ ፤ ወይሬእዮ ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ምግባሮ ፡ ለእጓለ ፡ እምሕያው ፤ ወያአምር ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ዘይገብር ፡ ጽምሚተ ።

thee out thou givest them money not to reveal thine iniquity. But God Almighty shall reward thee with the Gehenna of fire because thou hast defiled thy body, and hast lightly esteemed the voice of God Almighty and of thy husband; and thou who thyself transgressest the commandment of God dost curse thy mother Eve!

Now Alexander was undefiled, and he was holy in mind and in body, and he prayed to God Almighty his Lord. By race he was a Macedonian, and his father was Philip, unto whom had been given the spirit of prophecy, and he knew that which would come to pass long before it happened, [p. 265] and he was wont to make observations with the astrolabe, that is to say, an instrument for taking the altitude of the sun. Now he married a woman whose name was Kuestîbâr,[1] and she conceived a son, that is to say Alexander. And he took the astrolabe, which is an instrument for measuring the altitude of the sun, and made an observation, and he saw therein that the child would become king over fourteen kings, and he also saw that he would be pure in body. And he made another observation to see what would happen to a child born in the hour preceding that in which his son was born, and he saw therein poverty, and want, and ruin, and loathsomeness,

Alexander's race and family.

Philip of Macedon.

His astrological studies.

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[1] The writer probably refers to Cleopatra, the sister of Lysias, by whom Philip had certain children; see Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. i. chap. 21.

and anger, and murmurings, and rebellion, and he saw that all manner of evils would fall upon him; and he made another observation and saw that a child born after this evil hour had passed away would be a saint and a king. And Philip told his servants and his handmaidens to inform him of the time when the pangs of childbirth would lay hold upon his wife, and when she was about to bring forth, and to tarry not, and when the time arrived for her to bring forth, they told him, and immediately they told him he went to her. And he brought her to the door and tied her legs up in a bag, and set his feet upon both her knees, and he set the astrolabe before him and watched until the evil hour had passed away; and it came to pass that when the hour of evil omen had passed he unfastened her fetters and went outside, and his wife gave birth to her child straightway. And his father and mother reared him wisely until he grew up, and when he had grown up and had become a young man he knew the law of God Almighty. [p. 266] And his father died and left him his possessions, now he was exceedingly rich, and he had much wealth, but he did not make Alexander king. And having raised an army of fighting men [composed of] those who bore shields, and of those who rode upon mighty horses, and of those who shot arrows from bows, he gave to every man what was needful and what he desired; and God prospered them in his hand, for he trusted in Him, and prayed by day and by

A propitious hour chosen for Alexander's birth.

Alexander's education and wealth.

night, and victory was given unto him whether in the hunting of wild beasts or whether in fighting with the enemy.

CHAPTER II.

And it came to pass that God Almighty sent a mighty demon against the king of Kêlḳêdôn and vexed him therewith, for he worshipped idols, and he rose up against his wife and children and slew them with the sword—now these things happened by [the will of] God Almighty—and he said, "Alexander, the son of Philip, shall be "my son," and having made him king he died straightway. Then Alexander commanded the people to act uprightly before God Almighty, and to overthrow the temples of their idols, and their diviners, and all those who used enchantments, and afterwards he became king of Mêdân (Media), and of Babylon, and of the Kalâdâwĕyân (Chaldeans), and of Babylon of Egypt, and of Nineveh, and of Ephesus (?), and of Cyprus. And no man could resist him, and no man transgressed his orders during all the days of his reign unto the day of his death. For he placed his trust[1] in God Almighty and prayed unto Him with a pure heart and with a pure body, and pure prayer is more acceptable unto God Almighty [p. 267] than sacrifices of rams and bulls, or than the flesh of beasts [captured in] battle.[2]

Alexander becomes king.

The vast extent of Alexander's empire.

His holy life.

[1] Read ተወከለ፡ [2] Compare 1 Samuel xv. 22.

And after he had stablished [his] kingdom in righteousness he enquired concerning those who were wont to sin against God Almighty, and he rose up and blotted them out, and destroyed all their idols, and rooted them out. And it came to pass that Alexander heard that there were nations who were living without any knowledge of God Almighty their Lord, and who did nothing but eat and drink, and commit fornication, and be wanton in a lawless fashion. And as did the children of Cain in the days of Noah until God Almighty brought down upon them the waters of the Flood and blotted them out, even so did these nations who were of the peoples of the Medânôwĕyân (Medes) and of Amalek; and they had holes and caverns in the rocks, and when a man made war upon them they were wont to retreat into them and to hide themselves, and they could not be found.

The nations of Gog and Magog destroyed.

And Alexander prayed unto God Almighty in purity of heart, and the angel of God told him as he prayed to blot out these nations in the waters of the Red Sea. Then Alexander sent a message unto them, [saying] that he would make war upon them, and he ordered [his own men] to stand upon their feet and to sound the horn, but those nations hid themselves according to their wont in their holes and caverns in the rocks. Then Alexander crossed over the Red Sea, and laid it bare by his prayers, and the waters thereof were poured out upon them; and in one night those

nations were blotted out, and those who escaped the water he destroyed with the edge of the sword until he arrived at the borders of the Ishmaelites.

And Alexander took counsel and founded the mighty city of Alexandria, which he called after his own name, [p. 268] and he put away every one who used divination and idols, for he was a foe unto the priests of false gods and unto augurs and soothsayers. And he stablished in righteousness the kingdom of God Almighty in everything which he saw and which he heard, and God Almighty stablished his kingdom in righteousness, and wrought for him his wish in everything which he desired and imagined. Now without purity of body, and prayer, and alms, and oblations a man is not able to please God Almighty, for the beauty of the person of Amnon, the son of David, availed nothing, and he committed folly with his sister Tamar,[1] and David his father also repented sorely by reason of the wife of Aryûk[2] (Uriah); but Alexander kept his body pure from the pleasures of lust.

Alexandria founded.

The sins of Amnon and David.

And again Alexander heard concerning the seed of Japhet who polluted their bodies, and who were to be reckoned with the beasts, and who ate the unclean beasts which were forbidden in the Law, besides [other] unclean animals. And he prayed to God Almighty, and then set out and came to the country of those devourers of men, and he

Destruction of the peoples of Gog and Magog.

[1] See 2 Samuel xiii. 14. [2] See 2 Samuel xii. 16.

made his soldiers to encamp before it, opposite to the Sea of Philistia, so that they might not escape, for there was no other way from their city except on the eastern side; then he went round about their country and destroyed the inhabitants with the sword of iron, and he left no man [alive] among them. And he made their city to be inhabited by the peoples of Japhet who had knowledge of God Almighty, and Alexander wrought judgment and righteousness. And he commanded the sea and it dried up, for he worshipped God Almighty, and in all his ways he wished to do that which was right before Him; and he desired not women, nor the children which please them, but he wished [p. 269] that which was right before God Almighty Who had given him sovereignty over the earth, and Who would, after death, give unto him a heavenly kingdom, which is better for those who love Him than a wife and children, or than all the things which give pleasure. Thus Alexander subdued these peoples from the land of Medyâm (Media) to the place where the sun rises, that is to say to Irâḳ (Mesopotamia), and Bârsîsâ (Persia), and from Arîsêdêḳ to Gaos, and he put away all their polluted things and their idols, and wiped them out with the edge of the sword. Moreover he went round about doing battle with these unclean nations, and he made those who had a knowledge of God Almighty, and who abode patiently His law, and who wrought His will, to inherit their lands.

Alexander conquers all the east.

And, again, Alexander the king heard of the existence of the Viper[1] and Serpent nations, who were generations of fiends, and devils, and salamanders. And they had the faces of dogs, and the hands of men, and the tails of lions,[2] and wings like eagles; and among them were some who were like unto bears, and they had dung(?) and teeth like swine, and their offspring(?) were small and resembled not each other. And they never remain a moment [over their] food, and they eat the flesh of every [animal] which they find without cooking it in any way whatsoever; and whatever they find they devour, whether it be that which hath in it fat, or trees, and bark, and roots, and they reject nothing. Everything[3] which they find they consume. Now there are among them twelve tribes of people, who have faces like unto animals, and who feed upon grass and hay. And some of them have faces like bulls, and some of them resemble wild beasts and eat clean and unclean flesh. And some have heads which are like unto the heads of serpents and vipers, and they lick the dust. [p. 270] And some have faces which resemble those of caterpillars and crocodiles, and they drink water and blood, and consume whatsoever is in the

The nations of Gog and Magog described.

Manners and customs of the twelve nations.

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[1] Read ሰበድዓት ፡

[2] Our author is, apparently, attempting to describe the dog-headed ape, but it is not quite clear what he means by "wings like eagles."

[3] Read ወያኀልቁ ፡

sea, both things clean and things unclean. And some have faces which are like unto those of elephants and buffaloes, and they devour the roots of trees, and everything which they find, both wet and dry. And some have faces which resemble those of parrots and eagles, and they eat the leaves of trees and drink fire like water. Each of them hath his own peculiar form and group, and each hath his own peculiar appearance, and God Almighty hath hidden and concealed them until He wisheth to bring them forth to consume everything which is in the earth, both beings of body and beings of soul. None of them feareth either fire or iron, and none of them hideth himself in the earth, either in the mountains or in a cavern under the ground.

Alexander sets out for their country.

And praying to God—now Alexander prayed that these nations might not gain the mastery over the children of men except at the appointed time—and crying out to Him, he made his way to them that he might see their country, and if by his faith, he was able to make war upon it and to command the army therein. And it came to pass that when he had seen the strength of their country, and its fortresses in the rocks, [he found that it reached] to the Land of Darkness, and that there was there a place of going forth about twenty-two cubits [wide] through which these nations were wont to go out to war with the children of men; and for this reason, they told Alexander and made known unto him that every

man whom they found they must do battle with. And it came to pass that when Alexander had visited their country he saw that it was precipitous, and rugged, and misty, and dark, and that hail, and clouds, and frost, and snow [were therein]; and the sight of their country grieved him, and he wished neither to hear the sound [p. 271] of the voices of the people, nor to see their tribes, for the sight only of their country had troubled his soul already overmuch. So he covered his face and grieved, for they were a generation of devils which had no fear in them. But God Almighty, in the abundance of His mercy, put into their hearts fear and trembling when they heard the sound of the horn, and the drum, and the trumpet, and the [other] instruments of music; and when they were all gathered together within that narrow pass Alexander prayed to God, and set there a gate that they might not go out therefrom, until God Almighty should desire to bring them forth by His decree to make an end of the world, after the coming of Antichrist. Now the kings of these nations are Gog and Magog. And Alexander gathered the nations together and shut them in with a gate of brass which could not be opened, and with a threefold seal which could never be broken, and with a covering which could not be penetrated, and with a sheath which could be pierced neither by tool of iron(?) nor by [the flame of] pitch,(?) until it be the Will of God Almighty.

The nations of Gog and Magog shut in.

The gate of brass.

CHAPTER III.

Alexander's prayer to God.

And it came to pass that, when he had confined these nations and shut them in and locked them up, Alexander looked up to heaven—now he had anointed his face and his feet in the morning—and with rivers of water running down his cheeks he began to pray, saying, "O Thou my "God and Saviour, Who hast reared me, Thou "Who hast fed me and Who hast up to this present "led me untiringly, Who hast given me strength "and hast set me up in a high place and my foot "[p. 272] slipped not, and Who hast given me "understanding concerning that which was neces-"sary for Thy kingdom, what knowledge and what "learning is able to praise Thy Majesty, O God "most terrible? Ten thousand times ten thousand "chariots tremble and shake with fear at Thy voice. "The earth quaketh and the heavens crumble into "pieces at Thy order. The sea, and the winds, "and all created things are terrified at Thy Majesty, "together with the things which are under the earth; "the sea, the crocodiles, the hippopotamuses, the "serpents, and the whales tremble in terror of Thee. "Beings celestial and beings infernal, beings great "and beings small are subject unto Thee. All things "which move in the air, and in the abyss, and in "the sea, and on earth, the ants and the worms, "and the smoke and the sparks, are subject unto "Thee; and none of them passeth over the boun-

Alexander's prayer.

"dary which Thou hast defined for it. Things "which are visible and things which are invisible, "and demons, and vipers and snakes, and all spiri-"tual things which can neither be felt or touched "with a hand of earth, are subject unto Thee.

"And now, O God, inasmuch as the generations "of the children of men are aweary, work Thou "so that they may not be terrified either at the "faces of these terrible peoples, or at their bitter "words. And if Thou wilt not do this, and if "Thou dost not give them strength to resist these "nations, why should men be afraid either at the "sound of wild animals, or at the noise of the "thunder, or at the earthquake, or at the winds, "or at the sound of fire, or at the serpent, or when "they see a sign in the heavens, or a wonder on "the earth [p. 273] or in the sea? Thou, O God, "shewest mercy upon man, even as a father when "he shaveth the head of his child, and even as his "mother who giveth him suck that he may not "weep and be beaten. And again, if Thou wilt "not do this, why, O God, should not the life of "man be destroyed by the water floods, or by the "desert, or by the sun, or by the heat, or by the "want of meat and drink, or by the excessive in-"crease of the wild animals and beasts of the desert "which strike fear into him? And, moreover, men "would be afraid of their prey if Thou hadst put "fear into their hearts, or they would be over-"come by it, and if Thou hadst not given them "strength they would be afraid of the dog and the

Alexander's prayer.

"cat.[1] Now the people who live in this place are wild "beasts and venomous reptiles, for their outward "form and their habits are terrible; but power has "not been given to them to go forth with their "machinations, lest they should destroy men by "their terrible appearance and by the sound of their "voices. Glory be to Thee, O God, and I offer "thanks unto Thy Majesty, for Thou hast shewn "lovingkindness unto Adam, the work of Thy hands, "whom Thou hast made in Thine own form and "image, and whom Thou hast beautified with Thine "own beauty. Thou didst give [him] an eye to "see, and the sun to give him light to see with, "and an ear to hear, and the light of knowledge "to understand Thy grace. And now, O God, my "Lord, shew Thy sinful servant the way to deliver "the children of Adam by his hands, that Thy holy "name may be praised for ever and for ever, Amen."

Alexander's prayer.

And it came to pass that when he had prayed these words the Spirit of God [p. 274] came upon him, and his heart beat wildly, and he was like a drunken man, and his mind was terrified and overwhelmed; and it was shewn to him that he should march on for a period of three days. And [when he had arrived] he saw that the children of Japhet in that place were cunning workers, and he perceived that they were skilful handicraftsmen in brass, and that they contrived marvelously cunning things for their amusement, and

The Spirit of God comes upon Alexander.

[1] Read ወዶ፡መትኔ፡

organs, and instruments of music, and every kind of cunning work. And, moreover, it was plain to him that inasmuch as he had prayed in pureness [of heart] power had been given to him by his prayer.

CHAPTER IV.

Then Alexander rose up straightway and journeyed on towards the coasts of Paḳânûsê, to the right of the east and Pêrmêlênôt, and he arrived at a certain citadel, the height of which was thirty-seven cubits; now the citadel was built of adamant stone, and of brass, and of iron, and of lead, and it had foundations of lead (?), and the people of the city had made the citadel thereof with every kind of strong work and contrivance. Now because of their wickedness, and because of the abundance of their lascivious dances and fornications, God Almighty had brought death upon them in one night; and from the smallest to the greatest they all died upon their beds, and no man rose up from his couch who had once gone to sleep on it. For the people used to close the gates of their city and to dance to their instruments of music all day long and all night long, and they never ceased dancing to the sound of the instruments of music which they had contrived, namely to the organ, and to the pipes and flutes, and to the horn, and to the drum, and to the sounds of the trumpet and of divers instruments of music. And so long as they could see themselves dancing they multiplied

The citadel of adamant.

The people are given up wholly to music and dancing.

in the passion of their lusts every kind of musical instrument with wheels, and pulleys, and levers, accompanied by an [p. 275] innumerable host of cunning contrivances; and there was no cessation from dancing among them, for they made figures of men and women in brass which danced [when they themselves stopped].

Alexander comes to the city.

And it came to pass that Alexander went round about this city on foot, and he and his host encamped there for eight days, until they had gone wholly round it. Now the roofs of the houses of these people were of gold and silver, but all their vessels were of brass and tin; and all their couches, and the doors of their houses, and all the beams thereof were decorated with gold and silver. Now the roofs of their houses were decorated with ornaments of great price, and the utensils and vessels of great value which were in that city were without number. And when Alexander the king came to the city he commanded his soldiers to surround it, and to make an entry through the gates thereof if they were able to open them, but they found no place of entrance into it, neither in the building itself, nor in the lower parts of it, nor by steps. And they returned to him and told him that they had not been able to enter the city. "But," said they, "the people "inside it were singing songs to the sound of the "drum, and the flutes, and the pipes, and the "organ, and we heard music which was most "wonderful to listen to. We found, however, no

It has no entrance and no inhabitants.

"men, either inside or outside, but we heard the "noise of cocks crowing; but there was no man "to open to us the gates, which were everywhere "bolted and locked."

Then Alexander commanded them to bring him lofty *term* trees and palms, and the soldiers made ladders, whereby they could ascend to the battlements of the walls to see if there were any men moving about in the city; and when they had gone up into the battlements they saw the dancing figures and the instruments of music, and [they heard] the sound of the drum, and of the flutes, and of the organ, and the voice of the trumpet. [p. 276] And those who had gone up to the battlements said, "Good and excellent," and they fell down straightway on their faces and bellies inside [the castle of the city]. Then others went up into the battlements, and when they saw the instruments of music they also said, "Good and excellent," and they fell down [into the castle], and returned not; and afterwards they could relate nothing, except that they had fallen down inside the castle of the city. Then Alexander the king himself went up to see what had become of the men, and to bring them back to tell him what they had seen; and when he had gone up to the battlements he saw the most complicated mechanical contrivance which he had ever seen, that is to say, he saw a figure, made of brass, which was in the form of a man. And the people used to dance to it, and to clap their hands, and to shuffle

Soldiers scale the walls and are overcome at what they see.

Alexander scales the walls.

with their feet, and to blow the horns, and to beat the drums, and sound the trumpets, and [to play] all the instruments of music which they had made. Then God Almighty opened the eyes of Alexander's understanding, and he knew that the cunning contrivances which they had made were of brass, and that they had no breath of life in them, and that they were only vain things which were moved from beneath by levers and wheels. And, moreover, Alexander saw on the other side of the battlements a descent [into the city] from the walls, to the right of the place where he himself had gone up, at a distance of twenty-four cubits, and he measured [the distance] with his eyes and went there backwards. Now the other men had not been able to return, when once they had seen that mechanical contrivance, without falling down from the descent headlong into the city; but Alexander went back from it to the place in the battlements where was the ladder by which he had gone up.

Brass musical automata.

Then Alexander set up two other ladders at that spot, and spake unto three chosen and discreet men, saying, "Come, get ye down into the city, "but blindfold yourselves that ye may not see the "instruments of music until ye have reached the "ground, and have opened the gates of the castle; "take good heed unto my words that ye may not "destroy [p. 277] yourselves altogether." And the men mounted the ladders, and when they had reached the battlements Alexander shewed them the place of descent, where they were to go down, and

Alexander shows his men how to enter the city.

further he spake unto them, saying, "Turn ye "neither to the right hand nor to the left, and "tread nowhere except by the foundations of the "walls until ye arrive at the gateway; then open "the gates of the castle that we may come in." And they obeyed his commands and blindfolded themselves, and Alexander guided them by ropes and shewed them the place of the steps; and they descended to the ground and groped along the foundation [stones of the walls], and thus came to the gates and opened them. And Alexander allowed no man to enter therein without giving him information before so that he might not perish, for the whole city was girt about by fire, and by water, and by chains, and by steep places.

Alexander's soldiers open the gates.

And Alexander found an inscription which no man hitherto had understood, but God Almighty opened his mind and made him able to read it, and he found that it spake thus:—"By reason of "the overabundance of our possessions was God "Almighty provoked to wrath against us, for a "measure of wheat used to sell for a *dînâr*. And "besides all these things God Almighty sent upon "us the pestilence, and no man rose from his couch "that night except myself, [who rose] to write this "history of Alexander the king, who shall come "hither after one hundred and seventy years, even "as we have seen by divination in this city; and "the things which are of great price he will keep "for himself. This my writing I transmit to my "people, and this [my] book is before me. And

An inscription reveals the history of the city.

"thou, O Alexander the king, enter into this city, "but whosoever would enter into it to trade therein "let him go not therein, for it is all a ruin. No "man who hath once entered shall ever go out "[p. 278] to tell the tale to him that cometh in, "for this our city is filled with possessions of great "price and with violence. And in order that thy "followers may not perish command them that "none shall go in thither to [any] place therein,[1] "for near the gate is a house, and between the "house and the causeway are a place of suffocation (?), "and a gulf and an abyss; and whosoever falleth "on the ground shall not be able to rise up[2] again "before his bowels are poured out and his bones "shattered in pieces. Inside is a very narrow "passage and a block which cannot be pierced by "instruments of steel, and above it is a great stone; "these are the things which destroy men's lives. "And in this city are a precious stone gotten from "the sea, and jewels, and gems, and things of "great price, and gold is like brass and silver "like lead for abundance. But when the wrath "of God Almighty came upon us, our wealth and "riches availed us naught, and they brought us no "salvation; for the judgment of God Almighty "is righteous." And with these words the inscription ended.

Text of the inscription.

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[1] Read ረከቡ።
[2] Read ይትነሣእ።

CHAPTER V.

And it came to pass that when Alexander the king saw this he wept most bitterly, and [he sent out] a herald to make a proclamation, and all the soldiers of the king were gathered together [to him]; and he told them everything which he had seen and ordered them not to go into any house unless he had seen it [first], lest they perished. Now those who obeyed his words were saved, [p. 279] but those who loved riches and obeyed him not perished; for the overweening love of possessions destroyeth a man's soul.

Alexander forbids his army to enter the city.

Then Alexander himself went first and examined carefully and thoroughly the places of ambush, and he explored the ruins, and gave an indication to his chosen men [where to follow]; then they came in and brought out a vast and incalculable amount of spoil. And Alexander went and examined the brazen figure before which the people used to dance continually to the sound of the drum, and the cymbals, and the organ, and every kind of mechanical contrivance which they had invented that they might dance and play by day and by night; and he understood the marvellous thing, and uncovered the ground below it and he saw all the arrangement thereof, and the levers, and the wheels, and the cords thereof. Then straightway, at his desire all the mechanical contrivances for dancing and the innumerable cunning works that were therein were brought out in their proper

Alexander enters and examines the brazen figure.

order, and that the skill and cunning of the contrivance might not be destroyed he wrought a sign, and [ordered his men] to make serpents [and to set them] up on the road, that they might terrify men from coming to the city. Then those whom he had sent into the courtyards and houses went round about the whole city, and there was no soldier in the whole of the king's army, and no man, and no camel, and no horse, and no mule, and no ass, and in fact no one that was not loaded with a burden. And they all bore loads of gold, and silver, and jewels of the sea, that is to say, pearls and gems, and topazes, and chalcedonies, and precious stones, and gems, and every kind of gem which shone like a lamp in the darkness. Now [p. 280] no man carried off brass or iron or any object which possessed great weight, for all their houses, that is the doors, and the beams of their houses, and the battlements thereof were of brass and lead; and none of the men brought away brass and lead, for all the soldiers of the king's army understood that they were to load themselves with things of great price only.

The city is spoiled.

Then Alexander rose up and marched for three days, and he brought serpents into the open places of the city, and he tarried among his troops to pray before going into the city. And again he prayed and gave thanks unto God Almighty and spake, saying, "I return thanks unto Thee, O Lord "God Almighty, because Thou hast received me "and hast given to me by Thy Will all these riches

Alexander's prayer.

"which I desired not, and because Thou hast re-"served me [until the end of] these hundred and "seventy years, for when as yet Thou hadst not "created me Thou didst know me. There is nothing "which can be hidden from Thee, and everything "is revealed before Thee, and everything is spread "out before Thee, and to Thee be praise for ever "and ever. Amen. And now, Thou, O God, "knowest that I wish to bind in chains these "demons and devils that they may not attack the "beings whom Thou hast formed, and wish the "nations to know the miracle which Thou hast "wrought, so that Thy holy Name may be praised. "Thou hast founded the earth upon the waters, "and Thou hast suspended the heavens without "a pillar [to support them], Thou hast ordained "that the winds shall blow therein, and Thou hast "made the mountains which are upon the earth "to be the supports thereof. And Thou hast set "the hills also in a balance, that they may not "move and fall into the waves of the sea and into "the billows thereof. Moreover, Thou hast lit up "the heavens by the sun, and Thou hast created "the moon and the stars [p. 281] to beautify the "splendour of the heavens. And all these things "which Thou hast made were for [the benefit of] "Adam Thy servant, and Thou didst, O God, de-"liver all his children out of the hands of the Devil "and out of the hands of his destroying fiends, "according to Thy Will and good pleasure, even "as Thou didst promise unto Noah Thy servant,

Alexander's prayer.

Alexander's prayer.

"and to Abraham Thy friend, and to Isaac Thy "servant, and to Jacob-Israel Thy saint, to deliver "Thy people with righteousness, and to give food "in righteousness unto those whom Thou hast "created for the honour of Thy glory. And now, "O Lord God Almighty, hearken unto the prayer "of me, Thy servant Alexander, and make to "prosper the sign which he hath wrought, so that "the serpents may not go forth against Thy people, "and so that they may not destroy Thy flock until the "day wherein Thou shalt will their going forth in "Thy good pleasure."

The Spirit of God comes on Alexander.

And Alexander bowed low and cried out before God Almighty with groanings and with tears, which were mingled with the awe of Him. And the Spirit of God Almighty came upon him, even as when he prayed at first, and told him of all that had been, and of all that should come to pass, and of the hidden things of God Almighty which appertained to the beginning and to the end; and He brought the two mountains which were called Madîḳʿên and Ḳeraftârân close together until there remained but a distance of twenty-three[1] cubits between them. Then Alexander set up between them images of brass according to those which he had seen in the land of the children of Japhet, and the organ, and the drum, and the cymbals, and the pipes, and the trumpets, and all the contrivances for dancing which skilful workmen had

The musical automata reconstructed.

[1] We should expect "twenty-two."

made with cunning, and the works of brass which he had had brought out from the land of Japhet; and he made in the ground there a hollow for them, [p. 282] and for the fixtures, and the wheels, and the fittings, and the works, even as he had seen them originally. And he sealed the brazen gate with three seals, and he laid three enchantments upon it so that no man whosoever he might be should be able to work against it successfully, either by arts and crafts or by mechanical contrivances; and he plastered with bitumen, both inside and outside, the works of the gate and the musical figure which played tunes by day and by night. And it came to pass that when the serpents heard this God Almighty sent terror into them and they fled to the ends of the earth; and it came to pass that whenever they returned to gnaw away the mountains with their teeth they heard the sound of the trumpet, and they imagined that it was [that of] Alexander the king. And there they remain unto this day and unto this very hour by the Will of God Almighty, [and there will they remain] until His work appeareth at the time which He willeth; but His beneficence and love for men have appeared by the hand of His prophet and servant Alexander the king, and He shewed him the time when these nations should go forth.

The brazen gate is thrice sealed.

CHAPTER VI.

And the Spirit [of God Almighty spake unto Alexander, saying: "The time of My day hath

of redemption for man. The Spirit of God reveals His scheme.

"arrived. In five days and half a day[1] I will put "on the flesh of thy father Adam by reason of his "iniquity, and I will become a child for his sake, "and I will make Myself manifest for the sake of "all those whom I have created. And I will become a subject of praise and of thanksgiving "both by angels and men. I will give life unto "him that hath believed in My coming, and I will "drive out fiends [p. 283] and devils, I will cleanse "the leper, I will raise the dead, I will vanquish "death, I will conquer the Devil. I will carry away "Sheol, and I will bring out therefrom Adam and "his children who believed on Me and who trusted "that I would come and deliver them; but those "who have believed neither in Me nor in My "coming shall not be saved, for they are not the "children of Abraham the believer. And do thou "keep these My words, and write them down that "they may be sure and certain for the generation "which shall arise in the latter days, when My "Son, Whom I have begotten, and My Word, "Who was before all things, and through Whom "I have created all things for Himself, shall come. "For I have set thee to be a prophet unto Me "by reason of the purity of thy body,[2] and through "thy prayers which have come unto Me. And I "will do[3] for thee whatsoever thou desirest, for

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[1] *I. e.*, at the end of 5000 + 500 years; see Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 4.

[2] Read ሥጋከ ፡ [3] Read ወገበርኩ ፡

"thou hast loved Me, and hast preserved thyself "from the vain lust of the body, which is thine "enemy. And now, keep thyself as thou hast done "in former times, and put away all divination, and "all idols, and all sorcerers, and all magicians, and "all soothsayers, and all those who serve [other] "gods, and all those who are astrologers; and after "this, even as now, remove not thyself from My "service. And I will instruct thee, and I will do for "thee everything which thou hast asked of Me, "and everything which is in heaven and earth "shall be prepared for thee, and I will give thee "that which is better than a wife and children. "Instead of that which is seen I will give thee "that which is unseen, and instead of the transient "tranquillity which thou now enjoyest I will give "thee the rest which is for ever. I am the Lord "God Almighty, thy Creator, and I am He Who "receiveth the prayers of the pure. I make weak "the bows of the mighty ones. I work signs in "the heights above, and marvellous things in the "earth beneath. I give honour, and wisdom, and "understanding to those who put their trust in Me, "and I have knowledge aforetime of what shall "come into being before [p. 284] it is created. "And now, speak the word and fetter these ser-"pents, and let them be in subjection unto thy "words, and bind them closely in My name, even "as thou hast restrained thy body by thy soul's "desire; and thou shalt become like a child which "knoweth no evil. If thou keepest these things I

Idolaters to be destroyed.

"will reveal to thee concerning My first coming "in the flesh, and concerning My second coming "in the clouds of heaven with power, and with all "the hosts of heaven. And when My coming "draweth nigh these gates shall be opened, so that "all the unclean may be purged from the world, "and by their going out Sheol shall be made "complete, for to that place shall they be con-"demned with the wicked and with the sinners "who have not kept My Law and My ordinances." And it came to pass that when God Almighty had spoken these things unto Alexander he bowed down, and made supplication, and wept, and prayed, saying, "I give thanks unto Thee, O Lord God "Almighty, because Thou hast received the petition "of Thy servant, and because Thou hast given "him [the gift of] prophecy even as he asked "Thee; to Thee be praise and thanksgiving for "ever and ever, Amen."

The second coming of Christ.

CHAPTER VII.

The brazen automata re-constructed.

And Alexander sealed the place with a sacrifice, and he established therein the cunning works of brass, the organ, and the trumpet, and the drum, and the sound of the horn, and every contrivance for dancing and amusement which had been made by skilful handicraft; and it was blown by winds ceaselessly during the whole day and during the whole night. And it came to pass that when the [p. 285] serpents sought to bite and to gnaw it with their teeth, they heard [the sound of] that

cunning contrivance of brass, and they imagined that Alexander the king was there; and boundless fear, and terror, and trembling entered into them, and they fled straightway to the ends of the earth. And they continued to come there wishing to remove the brazen figure, and they went round about it wishing to find an opportunity to carry it off, but when they heard the sound [thereof] they fled [to the ends of the earth], and were vanquished, and there they dwell until this present and until this very day, even as Alexander prayed. Thus God Almighty, the Good, the Merciful, heard him that endured patiently in righteousness; and Alexander returned to Macedonia with honour and praise, and with gold and silver.

The serpents flee at the sound of the music.

And Alexander came to the country of Babylon.[1] And he, in [his] wisdom, looked into the mighty sea,[2] and found by the side thereof, quite close to the bitter water of the sea, a rock having a space of ten cubits, and he set up thereon pillars of white marble and fixed them with bitumen, and pitch, and lead, and metal, and he set walls round about the pillars with [other] pillars; for the waves and billows of the sea used to dash among the pillars And he covered the building as it were with brass and he made sluices or openings therein that al the waste and refuse might be washed thither

[1] *I. e.,* Babylon of Egypt.

[2] Compare the account of the founding of Alexandria as given by Masʿûdî, tom. ii. p. 420 ff.

[from the city], and the waves carried it into the great sea. Then he made good water and good [p. 286] food to be brought, and he caused the river of Ethiopia to flow above the [city] which he had founded, that the people might drink thereof; and he had choice stone brought, and he laid foundations above the stream and built a strong wall [about them]. And it came to pass that he paid gold as wages to every man who worked for him, for Alexander was a God-fearing man, and to every man that wrought he gave a golden *dînâr* each day. Thus he finished the miraculous founding of the city, and he called it Alexandria after his own name, and his name and his renown abide there until this day.

Alexandria founded.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alexander longs to go to the Country of the Living.

And it came to pass that Alexander heard the story of the Country of the Living, and he prayed long and continually unto God Almighty that he might go there and dip himself in the water of life, and see it. And a herald went round about and proclaimed that Alexander would only take [with him] any grown person who had a beard, and that no person whose beard had not grown should come, lest fear should seize upon him while they were traversing the Country of Darkness, which resteth like a canopy above the waters of the sea and reacheth up to heaven on the east and on the west. And the sun cometh forth from that canopy of darkness, and it riseth and goeth

The place of sunrise and sunset.

forth like a bridegroom out of his chamber, and it goeth round about in its course, and when it hath revolved it goeth back again into the canopy of darkness. And it riseth in beauty over the Country of the Living according to the decree of its Creator, for the sun knoweth its place of setting.

And it came to pass that, when it had been proclaimed that Alexander would not take young men with him on [p. 287] the expedition, two of those whose beards had not grown came and thrust hooks in their flesh to bring out their beards, and they went into the presence of Alexander. And when the king saw the courage of their hearts, he said unto them, "Why did ye inflict wounds "upon yourselves until the blood came forth?" And they answered and said unto him, "We heard it "said that those whose beards had not grown "should not go forth with thee, and therefore we "dared to do to ourselves what we have done; "for we fear not death if only we may go forth "with thee to the war. Those who have grown "to man's estate have anxious care on account "of their wives and children, and they are afraid "for their own lives, but as for us, we would be "with thee whether in life or whether in death." Then the king marvelled greatly, and another herald went round about and proclaimed, saying, "Whosoever willeth to come forth with me, whether "he be old or whether he be young, let him come; "and whosoever hath fear in his heart let him not

"come, lest he make his neighbour as timid as "himself."

Alexander sets out for the Country of the Living.

So Alexander rose up to make war with a large army, and he placed his confidence in his God. And he arrived after one year in the Country of Darkness, and he looked hither and thither, and found nothing which he could do, for there were no winds for the ships and rafts whereby he could sail and pass away from the place. And he looked and saw that there were in the Country of Darkness great birds which were very much larger than [p. 288] eagles, and he gave them the flesh of animals, and they took it and carried it away into the darkness which was above the water, and they passed away to the Country of the Living, and when they had eaten it they returned. And Alexander fed them again and again, and thus they became familiar with men; now hitherto they had not been accustomed to men. And these birds were as gentle as doves and were without guile, even as a lamb that uttereth no cry before him that sheareth him; and they would eat meat, and honey, and sugar out of a man's hand. Now their appearance was exceedingly formidable, and their bodies and wings were of great size. Then Alexander chose certain strong men from among his soldiers and commanded them to mount on the backs of the eagles, and in [his] wisdom he prepared meat which was hung upon hooks before their eyes, just where they were unable [to reach] to eat it; and seeing the meat they [flew after

The birds in the Country of Darkness.

Certain soldiers are carried to the Country of the Living on the backs of birds.

it and thus] carried off the men into the darkness, and they bore them away, and after three days and three nights they arrived in the light of the Country of the Living. And when they returned to Alexander the king they told him all that had happened, and all that they had seen in the darkness until they arrived at[1] the light of the Country of the Living.

CHAPTER IX.

Huge birds tow Alexander's fleet along.

And Alexander made ready ships, and rafts, and rowing boats. And he slew bulls and sheep, without[2] cutting off their privy members,[3] and they tied the [carcases of the] bulls to the [fronts of the] ships with ropes, and as the eagles stretched themselves out and flew after the carcases the ships were dragged along by their wings; and in three days and three nights they brought Alexander and his men into the light, even as they had done for the men who had gone thither before. And it came to pass that when they had gone forth [from the sea], **[p. 289]** they saw the City of the Saints, and all the water there is sweeter than the grapes of which wine is made, and sweeter than sugar. And all the stones which they have there are of sard, and chalcedony, and jacinth, and sapphire, and there

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[1] Read ኀበ ፡ ብርሃን ፡   [2] Read ዘእንበለ ፡

[3] To this day in the East great care is taken in skinning sheep and other animals, the skins of which are to be used to support rafts.

The Country of the Living and its joys.

are there gems[1] and pearls; and there is nothing which existeth uselessly in their country, for even from the herb of the field do they bring forth manna which is wonderful in its appearance. And there is there neither freezing cold nor parching heat, neither summer nor winter; and the fulness of the grace of God Almighty [resteth] upon it. In that city there is neither oppression, nor tears, nor any corrupt thing, and everything is fair, whether it be animate or whether it be inanimate. Instead of snow manna falleth [from heaven], and all their wells and rock cisterns are filled with honey, and every beast among them is filled with milk. When the sun setteth upon this world in his place in the west he riseth upon them, and when he setteth upon them he riseth upon us in this world, and between us and them a canopy[2] of darkness existeth; for the sun revolveth in the height of heaven, and when it is night with us he [is shining] upon them, and when it is night with them he [shineth] upon us. Thus Alexander and his troops dwelt in the Country of the Living in great happiness, and no man wished to go forth therefrom, for the country was graciously provided with everything; and this hidden city was revealed to Alexander by the will of God Almighty, because He loveth the prayers of those who are pure.

Alexander and his troops dwell there.

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[1] Read ወዘውኅር ፡

[2] Read ደብተራ ፡

CHAPTER X.

Alexander carried off to the abode of Elijah and Enoch.

And from this place Alexander and his soldiers journeyed into a desert region where there were no houses, and as he was travelling along mounted on his horse, his horse was seized by the Spirit, and he arrived in the high places of the earth; and it brought him into the spiritual tabernacle wherein Enoch and Elijah dwelt. And he came down from his horse and paid homage unto them, and he said unto them, "O my lords, are "ye creatures who belong to the human race and "to the children of men, or are ye of [the number "of] spiritual beings?" Now their faces were white like the blossom of the rose, and their teeth and hair were whiter than milk, and their eyes shone brighter than the star of the morning, and their stature was lofty, and the look which was on their faces was gracious. And it came to pass that when the king had said this, they stood up, and prayed, and blessed him, and they spake unto him, saying, "We are men like unto thyself, and "thou hast come hither by the Will of God Al-"mighty; tell us now, master, by what means thou "hast come to us. I am Elijah and this is Enoch, "whom God Almighty hid from death. And thou, "O blessed art thou, for thou hast become a "dwelling-place for the Holy Spirit by reason of "the purity of thy body. Thou hast preferred the "things of heaven and hast rejected the lust of "the flesh, therefore, because of thy virtue, God

Speech of Elijah and Enoch.

"Almighty brought thy soldiers here with thee, "although they were unclean. For one deed of "righteousness is mightier and greater than the "sins of all those who have journeyed hither to "the Country of the Living with the king, whom "the Voice of God Almighty bringeth hither in "the last [p. 291] days.[1] And as thine own "righteousness hath brought hither all thy soldiers "being sinners, even so shall the righteousness of "God Almighty bring hither from Sheol those who "have believed on His Name, and have been "baptized into the life which is for ever. And "now go thou and return to the country of death "and sorrow, for there are some whose time hath "come, and they may not die here in the Country "of Life; and proclaim the work of the mercy of "God Almighty unto those who follow after thee, "for it was He Who revealed to thee how thou "couldst come hither to the Country of Life, the "city of spiritual beings."

Alexander and Enoch converse.

Then Alexander answered and said, "If I have "found favour before you, O sirs, let me speak." And Enoch, the scribe of the decrees of God Almighty, answered and said unto him, "Speak, for for "this reason hath God sent thee here; thou shalt "hold converse with us and we will speak unto "thee, and thou shalt enquire of us, and we will "make thee to know well everything which thou "shalt ask."

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[1] Read በደኃሪ ።

Then Alexander uncovered his face with awe and reverence, and said, "Why is your habitation "here by yourselves? What manner of food is "yours? What solace have ye? And what manner "of existence is yours? Tell me, I beseech you, "that my mind may be healed." And Enoch, the righteous,[1] answered and said, "Our existence is "a happy one, for it is without sickness and pain, "and there is neither sorrow nor Satan in it. Our "solace is with the angels and with the Spirit of "our God, Who maketh glad[2] our hearts, and each "morning[3] we see new things to make us glad. "Our food is of the Spirit of Life, and our drink "is of the dew of life which floweth from Paradise, "and we never, by any means, [p. 292] seek any "other; for the spirit of the knowledge of our "Lord satisfieth us. And we desire not food for "the belly as dost thou, and we enjoy the solace of "conversation with the angels by day and by night. "And, moreover, our mouth cannot tell of the solace "and gladness which we enjoy in our converse with "the angels, and the righteous, and the martyrs, "and each of the shining ones, and of the elect, "and of the spiritual beings hath his own face and "form. The water of Life is white like the sun, "and the fish which go forth from the water of "Life are white like milk, for they never die. This "city is the storehouse of Life, and there is no

Alexander and Enoch converse.

Speech of Enoch.

[1] Read ጻድቅ ፡ [2] Read ዘያስተፌሥሐነ ፡
[3] Read ጽባሕ ፡

"death therein, whether it be of feathered fowl or "whether it be of fish of the sea. And every tree "in the Country [of the Living beareth] the fruits "of Paradise, and upon every herb therein doth "manna descend from heaven; and as for thyself, "it is because thou art pure that thou canst hold "converse with us, even as God Almighty hath "commanded us."

Speech of Elijah.

Then Elijah answered and said unto Alexander, "All those who worship images and every priest "of a strange god shall be destroyed from off the "earth, and all those who adore idols will God "blot out from the world. Thou shalt make "righteous and shalt purify those who are left "[behind thee], that they may work righteousness, "and let them make straight their paths to God "Almighty the Lord of heaven. And as for thee, "God Almighty hath made thee to attain directly "unto everything upon which thou hast thought, "until at length, through the Spirit, thou hast ar-"rived here and dost hold converse with us; and "coming into the world of life thou shalt inherit "it, together with the martyrs and the righteous. "For thou hast rejected the desire of the flesh, "and thou hast preferred that which is acceptable "unto God Almighty."

Enoch and Elijah carried away in chariots of fire.

And it came to pass that, while Elijah was speaking, behold the Spirit of God descended upon them, and chariots of [p. 293] fire came, and Enoch and Elijah were snatched away from before Alexander's sight, and their spiritual tabernacles were

carried off with them. And Alexander the king was disturbed in his mind, for they were carried off from him before he had conversed sufficiently with them, and before he had had his fill of the graciousness of their countenances. Then he mounted his horse and came back among his soldiers, who said unto him, "It is not good for us to return "to our own country, let us abide in this place, for "it is the storehouse of gladness, and we have had "neither pain nor sorrow since we came here." Alexander said unto them, "To dwell here is not "according to my will or yours, but according to "the Will of God Almighty is our coming in and "our going out; nevertheless so long as God Al-"mighty willeth we will abide here."

Alexander returns to his army.

CHAPTER XI.

Now a certain man who was a fisherman, whilst going about to catch fish wherever he could find them, lighted upon a piece of water which was as white as milk, and in it there were fish sporting and playing; and he went into the water and caught several fish, and brought them out therefrom; and they did not die, but moved about and glided along upon the ground. And it came to pass that when he saw them he marvelled, for when other fish are brought out of the water they die, but these continued to live. Then the fisherman took a knife from his side and cut up the fish, but they came to life again after [p. 294] a short time. And again, he beat them with sticks

Fish which cannot be killed.

The fisherman dips himself in the water of Life.

and stones, but he was not able to kill them because the water of Life made them to grow again; now when he perceived this he plunged himself into the water.

And the fisherman came to Alexander and gave him the fish, and the king's servants took them, wishing to cook them; and they put them on the fire, but the fire was not able to cook them. And they told the king, who said, "Bring them here." And they laid the fish before the king who commanded his servants to cut up the fish with a knife; but they were not able to kill them for the fish came to life again straightway, and even when on the fire they continued to live. And Alexander asked the fisherman, saying, "Whence broughtest "thou these fish?" And he spake unto him saying, "I found them in a stream, the waters of which "were white, and I brought them here, for I could "not kill them". Alexander said unto him, "Dost "thou know where the stream is"? And the fisherman said to him, "I do". And the king said unto him, "Let us go thither to-morrow morning to "see it and to dip ourselves in the water "thereof"; so they tarried that night, and in the morning the king rose up and called the fisherman to take him [to the stream]. But the fisherman missed the way, and the road to the water was ever distant before them, and the fisherman fled now to the right and now to the left, and the king could not find him; and not the king only but all the king's army sought him, and found

Alexander questions the fisherman.

The fisherman deceives Alexander.

him not. And it came to pass afterwards that they caught[1] the fisherman, and they brought [p. 295] him before their hosts. And the king said unto him, "Why didst thou not shew us[2] the stream?" and he chastised him. Then the man cursed Alexander and the Lord of heaven, and said, "It "is not convenient [for me] to obey [thee]." And Alexander cut off his head with a sword, but the man came to life again immediately; and again Alexander cast him down upon iron stakes, but no man could kill him by any death whatsoever. Then Alexander the king chained him with fetters of iron, and cast him into the darkness, and returned to [his own] country.

He is beheaded but does not die.

And Alexander prayed and said, "O God, cause "me not to become a thing of abomination, for "Thou art He Who fashioned me, and we all are "the children of Adam; and we are Thy servants. "Our fathers did not learn to do Thy will, and "they hearkened not unto Thy commandments. "Thou didst give ordinances unto Israel by the "hand of Moses Thy servant, and moreover, Thou "Thyself didst talk with them, and didst order "them to keep Thy ordinances[3] and judgments, "and to work righteousness always. Whenever "they enquired of Thee and sought after Thee[4] "Thou wast with them, and Thou wast never wanting "whenever they wished [for Thee]; and Thou didst

Alexander prays to God.

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[1] Read አኀዝዎ ፡ [2] Read ዘኢያርአይከነ ፡
[3] Read ኵነኔከ ፡ [4] Read ዘሰአሉከ ፡ ወኃወሡከ ፡

"give the earth as an inheritance into the hands "of our fathers who did not keep Thy statutes. "And now, O God, hearken unto the petition which "I make unto Thee, and make me to know the "right thing which I ask before Thee, O God, for "there is no good work in me. And, moreover, "by reason of Thy many marvellous things which "Thou in Thy mercy and graciousness hast wrought "for me—although my kith and kin were not of "the stock of Thy nation Israel—remember Thou "me, Thy servant, a little. And wilt Thou not "love those who have kept Thy commandments, "even though they belong to another race, if it be "that they have kept Thy commandments? Wilt "Thou not [p. 296] love those who love Thee? "Wilt thou not honour those who honour Thee? "O blessed is the man who hath believed with "his whole heart, for God heareth the prayer of "him that maketh entreaty unto Him, and to "him that trusteth in Him He giveth his heart's "desire. I entreat thee, O God, to give me power, "and do Thou keep me in Thy law that I may "bring forth fruit which will please Thee."

Alexander's prayer.

Then the Holy Spirit made answer to him in prophecy, and said unto him, "Hearken unto that "which I shall say unto thee; according to thy "words [so shall it be to thee]. Was it not I "Who created the universe? And I have loved "Adam and all his children like unto thyself, and "those who have kept my Will I love and keep, "for I dwell in the hearts of those who fear Me.

"And when I have taken up My abode in them "the Devil fleeth away, for he cannot dwell in the "place where I am. Can a deer (?) abide in the "den of the lion? [He cannot], for there can be "no peace and concord between them. And similarly in the place where the Holy Spirit dwelleth "are the angels of light who make ready and keep "the path and dwelling-place of their Lord; and "they order the goings of a man that he may "neither defile nor corrupt his soul and his body "by his words or deeds. And they teach him "the way which their Lord loveth, that is to say, "to keep himself pure and undefiled, to love his "neighbour, [to have] humility, to be merciful to "the poor, [to give] alms and oblations, [to have] "simplicity and patience, to endure ignominy and "disgrace, to return good to those who have been "his enemies, to shew love to those who hate him, "to be silent, to guard his tongue, to bow the head, "to keep the eye from evil, to hearken unto the "voice of the Deity, to reject laughter, to be ever "in anxious trepidation, to shed tears frequently, "to stand up [often] to pray, and to stretch out "[**p. 297**] the hand in innocency. He must not "defraud, he must not be a calumniator, he must "not love riches, he must not be covetous, and he "must not be a soothsayer in the service of other "and false gods. He must reject the desire of "his flesh, and must love the Will of God Almighty. "He must not be a follower of women or of men, "and he must be neither a fornicator, nor a man

Speech of the Holy Ghost.

"of wrath. He must disdain food and must not "be a drunkard. He must not wink with his eyes, "and he must not make himself an accuser of others.[1] "He must not be unjust, and he must not be "stubborn. He must not rejoice in evil speech, "he must not shew himself unfriendly, and he "must not be a grumbler; but he must be or-"namented with all good works, wherein is no "blemish.

Speech of the Holy Ghost.

"And he must be like a beautiful house which "men prepare for the dwelling-place of a king, "for they cleanse it, and beautify it, and sweep "it out carefully, and they repair the defects and "set it in fair order, and they lay down mats in "the path leading to the place where their lord "will abide, and they perfume the house with "sweet scents, so that they may beautify the dwell-"ing-place of the king within and without. And "they keep watch and look out with exceedingly "great care that no plunderer, or thief, or robber "may enter in, and that no person who is not of "their number may come there; and, when their "lord goeth forth to travel round about in the "open country according to his will, the servants "keep watch inside the dwelling-place of their "lord, and no stranger is permitted to come inside "the first, or second, or third gate. And it is not "only the servants who guard the house, but the "dogs bark whenever they scent a man who doth

[1] Read ወኢያስቱቁዱዩ፡

"not belong to their house, and moreover, they "worry and bite him.

"Now the hosts of darkness are not able to stand "against [p. 298] the children of light. And if "he, who is in accordance with the will of the "king, entereth into the royal dwelling-place he "will find no opposition offered to him[1] by the "men of the house, and their lord will not be "angry with them [for admitting him]; even so "do the angels of light prepare the soul, that its "place of habitation may be with the Holy Spirit. "And they furnish it with all kinds of sweet scents, "and with choice works, with the hearing of the "ear, and with the sight of the eye, and with the "smell of the nose, and with the taste of the "mouth, and with the speech of the tongue; these "are the doors of the heart. And the hearts of "kings and governors, who keep the law of God "Almighty and who walk in His way of righteousness, "are the dwelling-places of God. For as the iron, "which is black by nature, when it is put in the "fire by the blacksmith and he bloweth upon it "with the bellows, is changed in its appearance "and becometh of a whitish red colour, and burneth "whosoever toucheth it, even so [is changed] the "soul which hath become a dwelling-place for the "Holy Spirit, and no evil thing can do it harm, "for the fulness of the Spirit of God Almighty is "in it. Now what are the doors of the heart we

The doors of the heart are the senses.

[1] Read በዐዲ ፡ ዘኢክን ፡

"will tell thee. The doing of a good deed will "rejoice the heart; and the hearing of an evil "thing will cause it sorrow; and whosoever hath "in him the Spirit of God Almighty will distinguish "the thing which he hath heard with the under-"standing of his mind, and he will flee from the "evil and draw nigh unto the good."

CHAPTER XII.

Speech of the Holy Ghost. The first door of the heart.

"Now HEARING is the first door of the heart, and "the sight of the eyes is also the first door of the "heart. Whatsoever a man seeth he setteth in "[p. 299] his heart, both the good which rejoiceth "the soul, and [the evil] which disturbeth the heart. "He, who feigneth to be terrified at sorrow and "who sheweth himself glad at sadness, is fair of "form, but hideous in appearance and ugly in "features; he is gracious in shape but depraved "in deeds. And this is an appearance which a "man who dwelleth in the Holy Ghost will discern "in his mind, and he will flee from every evil "thing which God Almighty hateth, and he will "embrace every good thing which God Almighty "loveth."

CHAPTER XIII.

The second door of the heart.

"And the second door of the heart is the SIGHT "of the eye. And when a man in whom is the "Holy Spirit hath seen and heard, he will have "the power of discernment, together with the fear "of God Almighty; for the power of discernment

"and the fear of God Almighty are brethren. "Whosoever feareth with all his heart and with "all his mind will observe what He wisheth, and "will do that which is pleasing unto God Almighty."

CHAPTER XIV.

"And the third door of the heart is the sense "of SMELL of the nose. Now when a man smelleth "a good smell and a bad smell he distinguisheth by "his power of smelling that which is not pleasant "[unto him]. The smell of lust stirreth up the "mind and the heart to work iniquity, and so also "the good smell of burnt sacrifices moveth the "heart to tears and to repentance, and blessed is "the smell wherein is the fear of God Almighty. "And if a man hath this sense of smell, whether "[p. 300] he smelleth with his understanding the "smell of food, or whether he smelleth the smell "of healing medicines, which benefit both his soul "and body, he will discern it with his mind and "with the understanding of the intelligence which "is upon him, and will inhale the sweet[1] smell of "the burnt sacrifices of repentance, and will turn "aside from the baleful smell of the tavern and of "the marriage chamber. The smell, then, is the third "door of the heart; blessed is the man in whom "is the smell of the Holy Spirit."

The third door of the heart.

[1] Read ሠናይ ።

CHAPTER XV.

The fourth door of the heart.

"And the fourth door of the heart is the "MOUTH and the tongue which speaketh[1] by means "of the strings of a man's mind; for as in striking "the harp some of the strings [are found to be] "thick and some thin, even so some of the strings "of the heart are good, and some of them are "bad. The heart is the source of them, but that "which playeth upon them, and giveth them the "power of making sound, and that which setteth "them in motion is the tongue. Now the meat "which goeth into the mouth is thrown into the "belly and is ejected in the secret place, but the "drink which entereth into the mouth watereth "and pervadeth [the whole body] from the head "to the feet, and the loins become fat with flesh, "and muscle, and bone. Now the various kinds "of meat and drink have different odours, although "the body is renewed [by them all], and of the "things which come forth from the heart, some "are good and some are bad, and some are "righteous and some are sinful, and some are "true and some are false, and some are wise and "some are foolish, and some belong to careful "prudence and some to vanity. The ear, the eye, "and the sense of smell are the upper doors which "are external, and the mouth, which is, in very "truth, [p. 301] a door, is the door which is internal,

[1] Read ይነብብ ፡

"and it is the tabernacle whereby meat and drink "enter, and wherefrom good and evil sounds come. "Blessed is the man who bringeth forth good "things, and who leaveth those which are bad in "his heart, and who never remembereth them in "his heart until at length, through the power of "discernment which is therein, they are forgotten. "The mouth, then, is the fourth door of the heart."

CHAPTER XVI.

The fifth door of the heart.

"And again the sense of TOUCH in the hand is "a door of the heart, for when the hand hath "touched a thing it maketh it known to the heart, "and it knoweth in the darkness by touch without "feeling, whether it be something hot or something "soft. Now the hand draweth nigh unto the touch "of that which is good by means of the power "of discernment which it hath. Whosoever toucheth "knoweth whether a thing is good or whether it "is bad, and there is a sense of touch which "maketh itself manifest to the heart and which "worketh with its power of discernment in the "heart of a man, so that he turneth aside from the "touch of that which is evil. The touch, then, is "the fifth door of the heart."

CHAPTER XVII.

The sixth door of the heart.

"And again, the sixth door of the heart is the "power of MOTION, and this is the door which "leadeth a man to lack of will. And he ceaseth "to stand up in prayer through laziness and through

"making hindrances pretexts for not praying, and "he abideth not [p. 302] in one place so that he "might learn how to work that which is good and "wise, and he fleeth[1] from everything which God Al-"mighty loveth. And, moreover, whosoever draweth "nigh unto God Almighty, draweth nigh unto fair "doctrine and unto Him Who will instruct and "chastise in love. A man may wander in prayer "and stand up without sloth or weariness, and "with contrition of heart and with the weeping "of the eyes; but when once He Who hath "made him to understand how to forsake all evil "wandering hath come, he will advance towards the "doing of works that are good. Motion, then, is "the sixth door of the heart, but it is the under-"standing which giveth orders to them all.

The Holy Ghost exhorts Alexander.

"Blessed is the man who hath forsaken the "works of evil and who submitteth himself to that "which is good, for it is he who shall become a "habitation of the Holy Ghost. Now he who is "a dwelling-place for the Devil[2] is he who dwelleth "in iniquity, and the Spirit and the angels of light "depart from him, and the Devil and his fiends and "demons draw nigh unto him, and they prepare a "habitation for the Devil their chief. And he for "whom they have made ready causeth a man to "make haste to become haughty, and to the dealing "of blows, and to apostasy, and fury, and murmuring,

[1] Read ወይጕይይ ፡
[2] Read ለይያብሎስ ፡

"and restless movement, both within and without, "in the house and in the field, together with wrath, "and hostility, and envy, and disobedience to the "voice of the Deity, and fornication, and pleasure, "and drunkenness, and winking with the eyes; and "a man becometh polluted with iniquity, and he "listeneth to the words of idle stories and fables "which God Almighty desireth not, but which are "loved by his father Satan, and by his fiends and "devils who have delight in such things as these. "And they become a habitation [p. 303] unto him "who loveth riches and plunder, and who de-"fraudeth his neighbour, and who committeth un-"natural crimes with women and men; this is the "man whom Satan and his fiends and devils love. "And the man who is a defrauder and contentious, "and who leadeth astray by his words, and is "perverse, [and who loveth] laughter, and scoffing, "and idle stories, becometh a habitation for the "Devil, and the Holy Spirit and the angels of light "depart from him. A wolf cannot enter into a den "of lions, and similarly Satan cannot enter into the "habitation of the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit "cannot enter into the habitation of Satan for each "would be in restraint [therein]. Light cannot be "brought into the darkness, and Satan cannot enter "into the habitation of the Holy Spirit. Do thou "then, [O Alexander], take heed and be certain "that thou becomest a habitation for the Holy "Ghost."

CHAPTER XVIII.

And it came to pass that when Alexander the king heard these things he wept before God Almighty, and said, "O God, remember me in Thy "mercy, and keep me so that I become not a "habitation for the Devil; but if Thou wilt not "keep me [from this], then take back my soul be"fore the days of my appointed time come. And "preserve me for a habitation for the Holy Spirit "so that I become not an abode of the Devil; and "keep my soul and my body pure in Thy fear."[1]

Alexander's prayer.

And the Holy Spirit answered and said unto him, "Fear thou not, [p. 304] but keep the doors "of thine heart, for thine heart is My dwelling"place, and I will preserve it; only as far as thou "art able thou must keep it thyself. And speak "on behalf of others that it may become a thing "perfected in righteousness, and the souls of many "shall be made to live through thee and they shall "not become a dwelling-place for the Devil and for "his fiends and demons. And they shall work re"pentance and wisdom upon earth, for repentance "is great wisdom if men work it before they die, "and their sins shall be put away from them, and "they shall inherit glory, together with My chosen "ones at My second coming."

And Alexander answered and said with tears, "O God, Thou camest the first time to Abraham

[1] Read ለፈሪሆትከ ፡

"Thy servant, together with two angels, into his "tent, and Sarah his wife was there; and he brought "to Thee butter and bread, and Thou didst par-"take with him graciously of a lamb [slain] by a "knife and [cooked] by fire. And Thou didst tell "him all the hidden mysteries which Thou hadst "wrought in times of old, and which Thou wouldst "work in later days, and Thou didst say, moreover, "that Isaac should be born of Sarah who was "barren, and that his children should be in bondage "as servants for four hundred and thirty years. "Even before their father was created Thou didst "know of their servitude, for Thou knowest what "shall come to pass before it taketh place, and "before they were created they were in subjection. "And again Thou didst proclaim that Sodom and "Gomorrah should be blotted out, even as it is "written in the Book of the Law by the hand of "Moses Thy servant, and Thou Thyself didst write "therein with Thine own hand, and Thou didst "decree with Thy voice that they should perform "Thy commandments. Now unto my fathers Thou "didst not declare Thy law, for they were wor-"shippers of idols and astrologers who [p. 305] "drew not nigh unto Thee with all their hearts; "but do thou, O God, put me not away from Thy "commandments, for I fear Thy judgments."

Alexander's prayer.

CHAPTER XIX.

And the Holy Spirit answered and said unto him, "My coming to the house of Abraham My

The answer of the Holy Ghost.

"friend,[1] of which thou speakest, was not for the "sake of the world to which I had descended, but "in order that I might hold familiar converse with "him, and that I might see the sins of Sodom and "Gomorrah. For the people thereof had made "evil to ascend, and the cry of their sins [had "come] to Me, and I went down to see if they "would perform their sin in My presence, and they "did so, even as I had heard, and they perished, "and were rooted out. And again, at a later time, "I will descend to redeem the world which hath "grown old in the corruption of Adam, and I will "renew it again by My coming. And I will put "on flesh and become man, and I will appear unto "all men in the flesh of Adam; and I will be cruci-"fied in it and I will rise again from the dead, "and I will ascend to the throne of My former "existence with My Father. And again, when the "appointed time hath come, I will come once more "in the glory of My Father to judge both the "quick and the dead. And I will requite unto "every man according unto his deeds: to those "who have abode patiently in My law I will give "a great reward, and they shall dwell with Me for "ever; but those who have not abode patiently "in My law[2] shall suffer torment in Sheol with "weeping and gnashing of teeth: together with "their father the Devil they shall never see the "light."

Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection prophesied.

[1] Read ፍቁርየ ፡ [2] Read በሕግየ ፡

And Alexander answered and said, "O God, let "me speak in Thy presence; and treat not me, "Thy servant, [p. 306] with disdain. Wilt Thou, "in very truth, put on the flesh of Adam? And "yet, O God, Thy word cannot be a lie. How "can the flesh of Adam embrace[1] Thy Divinity?"

And the Spirit of his God, which was on him, answered and said unto him, "Gainsay not the "word which thou art unable to understand, and "plunge not into the sea in which thou art not "able to swim, and mount not above the winds "without wings lest thou fall into a deep gulf; but "collect thy mind and make praise to ascend unto "Him Who created and Who made thee. Now "by reason of the purity of thy body hast thou "asked Me this difficult question, but I am the "dwelling-place of the pure. And since thou wishest "to know about My coming, I tell thee openly that "I will not come with the Majesty of My Divinity, "but as the Word of the Father, and as the Son "which was before the world. Through Me the "Father made and created all the world, and "together with My Father I set in order the "mountains and all the hills, and all difficult paths "did My Father make through Me for I, am His "Wisdom, and His Word, and His Son. And, "moreover, I am He Who speaketh in thy heart "—the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete—and [I spake] "unto all the holy prophets who are like unto thee.

The Holy Ghost teaches Alexander.

[1] Read ያገምር ፡

The Trinity. "The heavens and the earth are full of the spirit "of My Father, and our Divinity is One; but all "those whom We created[1] praise Us and worship "Us in three Names, and the angels cry out 'Holy' "three times. For this reason will I come in the "flesh of Adam, so that [men] may believe in Our "Trinity. Those who believe and are baptized in "this Name shall become children of My Father, "and on those who have kept themselves pure "[p. 307] shall the Spirit[2] of My Father dwell, and "they shall be pure in soul and body. Take now "a type and a sign [of these things] from the "Book of Moses, where for thyself thou mayest "read that it saith to thee, 'The God of Abraham "and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob is "One.'[3] The God of Abraham when it saith, He "shall be called father, for Abraham was the father "of Isaac; and the God of Isaac when it saith, "He shall be called my son, for Isaac was the son "of Abraham; and the God of Jacob when it saith, "He shall be called the Holy Spirit, for Jacob "was Abraham's grandson. And if thou wilt under-"stand the matter it is thus. The holy men Isaac "and Jacob came forth from Abraham, and he is "the type of which I spake [when I said], We came "forth from the Father, and I am the Son, His "Word, and it was I through Whom He created the "universe by His Word. But do not conceive that

The power of the Word.

[1] Read ዘፈጠርነ ፡ [2] Read መንፈስ ፡

[3] Deuteronomy vi. 4.

"[His Word] can be spoken against or changed "like that of a man, for His Divinity is abiding "therewith, and with one utterance We created the "whole world. And there was no time when I "was not with Him, and by His Will He made "Me to put on the covering of Adam and to appear "unto every one whom We had created; for before "the Devil and Adam were created He made Me "to know of the pride of the Devil and the error "of Adam. And this wise counsel was hidden before "the world was, so that on account of the pride of "the Devil Adam might be created to praise and "glorify the Trinity, but the Devil, together with "his hosts, rebelled. And, moreover, because of "Adam's error, I put on flesh and appeared unto "all [men], and I went about, and I wrought a "sign which no man had wrought. And the Devil "threw [the blame of] the [**p. 308**] sin which he "had brought upon Adam upon the priests of the "temples, and in [his] pride he choked them. And "certain men said unto Me, 'By Whose power doest "thou the like of this, for thou art not of the race "of Levi?' And they crucified Me, imagining Me to "be a man who had no power over death and "life; now death and life belong unto Me. And "it is of Me that Moses wrote these words, saying, "I kill, and I make alive; I punish, and I shew "mercy; I bring down into Sheol, and I bring up "therefrom.'[1] And again he said, 'All the angels

God appears in flesh.

[1] Deuteronomy xxxii. 39; I. Samuel ii. 6.

The Scriptures quoted.

"of God Almighty shall bow down to Him,' and "they all shall say, 'He is the Son of the Mighty "God;' and the blood of Adam and of his children "is avenged. And again he said concerning the "Father, 'Is it not He, the Father, Who created "thee? He created thee and He made thee.' And "again he saith concerning the Spirit, 'Thou didst "send forth Thy Spirit and didst cover up the sea, "and through the spirit of Thy wrath the waters "stood up.' Here he alludeth to the Holy Spirit "concerning Whom speak the words which say, "He goeth forth from the Father and deriveth "Himself from Him;' He is the third and is the "fulness of the Spirit, the Paraclete, Who existed "with thee from the beginning of the world."

CHAPTER XX.

Alexander describes his father's knowledge.

And Alexander answered and said, "Woe is me, "O Lord God Almighty, for my father died in this "state and in possession of the astrolabe only. Now "he was well acquainted with all the learning of "the [wise] men of Greece, and he used to compute everything which had taken place and which "was to come to pass, that which belonged to "times of old and that which concerned the time "[p. 309] which was to come. And I was with "him, and he desired that I too should learn and "make myself acquainted with the use of the "astrolabe, which is an instrument for taking the "altitude of the sun. Now we lived by the side of "the Great Sea, and he used to measure, and to

"weigh, and to compute through [his] great learning "things which were about to happen in the latter "days, and to consider by what means he had been "created, and how he was stablished and continued "[alive]—until [the sun] came to the angle. And "he said unto me, 'Hear, O my son Alexander, "'that which shall certainly come to pass after these "'[times]. The Creator of heaven, and of earth, "'and of the sea, and of the dry land, and of the "'sun, and of the moon, and of beasts and of "'cattle, and of angels and of men, shall become "'a man, and shall be crucified, and pierced, and "'slain, and shall die.' And terror laid hold upon "him and he wept, and he smote his face, and "tore out by the roots the hair of his head, and "plucked out his beard, and by reason of his "mighty grief he rushed and threw himself head-"long into the sea and destroyed himself."

Philip's speech to Alexander.

Philip's death.

Then the Spirit which was upon Alexander answered and said unto him, "He did not destroy "himself. But he saw clearly that I should become "man, and that I should be crucified, and that dogs "and oxen would grin at Me, and that men would "spit upon Me and buffet Me; all these things he "saw by means of the astrolabe and he cried out "in consequence, and died in the sea. And because "of this he is numbered with the martyrs who "have given themselves unto the death of Ananias, "Azarias, and Misael. Grieve not thyself for his "sake, for he died for My sake, and his death was "one of exceeding wisdom, for it is said, 'God

He is reckoned a martyr.

"'maketh to be folly the wisdom of man.'[1] There "is none perfect except Me, for even the angels "are not perfect in every respect. Now thy father "saw [p. 310] My death by [his] knowledge, but "he did not see My resurrection, and he marvelled "at the folly of the Jews who made a mock of "their Creator, and pains gat hold upon him, and "[his] heart cried out, and he died for My sake. "Now he died because My Resurrection and Ascen-"sion were not revealed unto him by his great "knowledge, but because of his repentance and "tears he did not perish. And as for thee, do thou "keep thy heart with all diligence and the doors "[thereof] of which I have before told thee, for "I will be with those who keep themselves pure. "And now, before I am born and after My birth "I shall be glorified by the pure, and thanks-"giving shall be made to Me by those who watch, "and the Holy Spirit of My Father shall gather "together all types and prophecies, and He will "preserve the pure and undefiled. And as for thee, "inasmuch as I have loved thee, I have told thee "everything which shall take place and which "hath been; if thou wishest I will give thee length "of days, and if thou wishest to come to Me I "will give thee the kingdom of heaven."

The cause of his death

Then Alexander the king said, "Glory be to "Thee, O God, the kingdom of heaven is better[2] "for me than a kingdom upon earth, for I am afraid

[1] 1 Corinthians iii. 19. [2] Read ይኄይስኒ ፡

"lest Satan should attack me, and I would come "unto Thee pure and undefiled both in soul and "in body. But tell me the sign of my death, for "the going forth of the soul from the body is hard, "and let not my soul go out [from my body] be- "fore I have consoled my mother, who loveth me "most dearly, lest she kill herself [and she die] "before her time hath come." And the Spirit which was upon him answered and said unto him, "When the heavens become brass above thy head, "and when the stars therein become to thee [as] "gold [**p. 311**] and silver, then shalt thou die; these "things shall be a sign unto thee." Then Alexander gave thanks unto God Almighty, and bowed down to the ground and prayed.

Alexander asks what the sign of his death shall be.

CHAPTER XXI.

Then Alexander went into his city, and having come into his treasure-house he opened it, and went away from it [leaving it open]. Then he called the strangers, and the poor, and the needy, and made them to come and take everything which was therein, the gold, and the silver, and the costly apparel, and everything which was there, even to the precious stones which were [set] in the walls of the house, and the lamps and all the possessions of the royal palace. Now it needed three months for him to make an end [of these things], for he was very rich. And every one who saw how these people made an end of everything marvelled exceedingly, for those poor folk upon

Alexander gives all his goods to the poor.

whom he had shewn this act of compassion spared nothing, and they carried away even the paving stones, and the marble slabs, and the very walls and roof of the house, and they did not leave even the smallest brass coin behind.

His prayer. Then Alexander gave thanks unto God Almighty and said, "Now have I found riches and "treasure which can never be stolen, and a habi-"tation hath been built for me in the heavens "above. And behold, from henceforth I will devote "myself and my life to the God of heaven, and "from henceforth I will no longer yearn for the "life of the body, which [is maintained] by food "upon earth." And he set limits unto his appetites, as was meet, for he wished to live like the prophets of God Almighty, and he sought to follow the manner of life of Samuel, and of Elijah, [p. 312] and of Elisha, and of the prophets who have lived lives of good works, who made themselves meagre, and who lived upon green herbs, and who, moreover, endured fasting patiently, and they prayed the whole night long. And he did the things which were right and acceptable unto God Almighty, and he fed the hungry and clothed the naked, and abased the mighty and paid honour unto the lowly, and no wrong was done by him to any man. Now there existed in his days those who worshipped idols,[1] and those of whom he had heard rumours and knowing that they did so he rooted out, and

He leads a life of piety.

[1] Read ጠዖቱ ፡

no image or idol [remained] wherever he could see, and none opposed him in war, or in word, or in wisdom, or in belief; for the Spirit of God was upon him; and he did not make war upon those who had placed[1] their confidence in God Almighty, but only on the wicked, and idolaters, and diviners, and soothsayers.

CHAPTER XXII.

Alexander's counsel to posterity.

[This is] the book of wisdom which Alexander wrote as a word of remembrance for those who were [to come] after him. He said, "I will utter "words of counsel unto those who will hearken unto "me. 'Hear ye My voice, O ye who love My "law,' saith God Almighty, 'and if ye keep My "words and do [them], ye shall eat the blessing "of the earth, and your memorial shall be from "generation to generation, and your seed [shall "endure] for ever.'[2] As light is preferred and loved "more than darkness, even so is he who ob-"serveth the will of God Almighty; and as honey "is [p. 313] sweeter than wormwood, even so God "Almighty reproveth whomsoever He loveth. O "man, from thy youth up, love God Almighty, and "hate the Devil, the Evil one, and his wicked "works; now the works of God Almighty are "light. Hearken now, the works of darkness are "theft and fornication, and when [God] seeth him "that doeth them He punisheth him and abomina-

[1] Read ደኀበሩ ፡   [2] Compare Isaiah i. 19.

Alexander's counsel to posterity.

"teth[1] him. The thief and the fornicator[2] hate "the light, and they appear as fools in the sight "of men. And why, [O thief and fornicator] do "ye hate that men should see you? Know ye not "that God Almighty, Who created you, seeth you "and that He will bear patiently with you until "ye come to Him, when He will punish you? O "my beloved, I marvel this day—and do ye who "shall come after me meditate upon my words— "how we can stand up in prayer and entreat our "Creator to be with us, and not be ashamed when "we commit sin with our Creator looking on; for "He Who knew us before He created us seeth "our acts and deeds, and smileth at [our] folly.

"Let the king according to his majesty, and the "governor according to his governorship, and the "layman according to his riches, and the young "according to their ability, and the women according "to their infirmity, and the servants according as "their service alloweth, hearken unto my voice "and neglect not my petition. Fear ye God Al-"mighty according to the measure of your power, "and let not this service be grievous unto you, "for He hath made your burden light that He "might not subject you to Sheol for ever and ever. "And ye women, too, take heed to my counsel, "and neglect not my words, and let not the in-"firmity of women overcome you, for there is "[p. 314] no infirmity in good works, and of a

[1] Read ወያስቆርርዎ ፡ [2] Read ወዘማዊ ፡

"truth, according as ye are able, ye shall receive "the vigour of youth. In proportion to your in- "firmity the greater shall be your reward, and in "proportion as ye suffer misery the greater shall "be your glory, if ye fight with good and ready "will so that the Adversary cast you not down "—now God Almighty giveth strength unto those "that fear him—and if ye remember your infirmity, "then know that there is none who can avail to "deliver you. Woe unto you if ye die without "repentance, for there is none who can benefit "you. Neither son nor husband can make himself "fair, or beautify himself either with gold, or silver, "or apparel, for they all are fleeting things. And "as in [his] dream the hungry man is filled with "food, but when he awaketh he perceiveth that "his belly is empty, even so is the rich man in "this world, for there is no advantage therein, and "he is like an expanse of cloud and like a fleeting "shadow. Take heed then, O women, and hearken "unto my voice.

Alexander's counsel to posterity.

Advice to women.

"And, moreover, let each virgin listen unto what "I say. Preserve thy virginity like the apple of "thine eye, and blessed art thou if thou abidest "in my counsel until the time when those who "begat thee wish [to give thee in marriage]. And "if thou hast in thyself the power, know that it "is fleeting, and preserve thyself until the day of "thy death, so that thy lamp may shine in a dark "country .... And if thou wilt not hearken "unto my counsel, and dost say, 'I am feeble and

Advice to virgins.

Advice to virgins.

"am not able to speak unto my father and mother "that they leave me alone,' listen to what God "Almighty [**p. 315**] spake unto Moses concerning "the children of Israel, 'Keep them until they arrive "at their full age, and then enquire of them before "the house of God if they are able to keep them- "selves for God Almighty; and if they are not "able [to do so], let them marry and keep them- "selves for their husbands.' And, again, hearken "concerning the virgin daughters of Zelophehad, "how they married their kinsmen according to their "desire, and the portion of their inheritance of which "God had told Moses was given unto them before "they came into the land of [their] inheritance.[1] "And Moses told Joshua,[2] the son of Nun, to give "them their portion of the land of inheritance, "and what he said maketh known that virgins who "have kept themselves [undefiled] shall inherit the "kingdom of heaven. And, again, hearken con- "cerning Jephthah's daughter, whose father allowed "her to go into the mountains to bewail[3] her "virginity[4] and [the want of] a husband until he "sacrificed her to God Almighty, and he took her "as an offering of bulls and rams because he had "vowed her to his God when his soul was delivered "out of the fight with the enemy.

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[1] Numbers xxvi. 33; xxvii. 7; xxxvi. 11.

[2] Joshua xvii. 3, 4.

[3] Read ትላሁ ፡ በእንተ ፡

[4] Judges xi. 38.

"And, moreover, O parents of children, teach "ye your sons and daughters the law of God Al- "mighty, and read to them the Scriptures, and "teach them to work with their hands; let women "teachers instruct the virgins, and likewise let men "teachers teach the young men. And let not your "sporting and your shame be seen by your children, "lest God Almighty be angry with you, and He "lead away your women into captivity, and your "children become the prey [of others]; but rebuke "them, [p. 316] and shew them not the way of "Satan, and let them observe the law of God Al- "mighty. And when the time of their full age "hath arrived let them examine them according "to the law in the courtyard of the house of God "Almighty, and let them do unto them according "as they desire. And if there be any deceit in "your children who wish to purify themselves, their "sin shall be upon yourselves, and ye shall bear "upon you their transgressions and sins, because "they have transgressed after they have given "themselves to God Almighty as a bridal gift. "This is the counsel with which I would instruct "those who shall come after me concerning young "men and maidens, aud blessed are the people "who shall put their confidence in God Almighty, "and who shall fear Him with all their hearts!

Advice to parents.

"And do thou also, O married woman, hearken "unto my counsel and keep it in thine heart, and "instead of folly teach thyself wisdom, and instead "of error teach thyself righteousness; and do not

Advice to wives.

Advice to wives.

"yield unto him that winketh at thee with his eyes "in order to lead thee astray with evil intent, for "the baleful look which is in his eyes is a guide "unto sin. Do thou, then, turn away that thou "mayest not look at any man other than thy husband with evil intent, and take an example from "Sarah, who, when God Almighty went down to "Abraham to hold familiar converse with him at "the door of his habitation, made bread [dipped "in] oil and brought it to Abraham, who himself "offered it unto his Lords; but she did not in any "way whatever look upon their faces, for she composed herself and sat down in the tent, in such "a way that she could not see the faces of the "strangers. Now the sight of the eye overwhelmeth "[p. 317] the heart in sin. Take heed, then, unto "this counsel, and move thou not from the place "prescribed for thee, nor from thy habitation, to "look upon strangers lest thy heart be drowned "in sin. And, moreover, it is the duty of a woman "to honour her husband with all her heart, even "as [her] master, and within herself she must speak "of him as 'my lord', and besides this, she must "love him as herself. And Sarah gave unto "Abraham her handmaid that his name might not "be blotted out from the earth, and that he might "have seed, for she despaired of herself, and although she knew that she was barren, she said "'He cannot beget'; but God did as He wished, "and gave her a child after this wicked speech. "And thou must learn this law also; thou shalt not

"love any other man except thy husband, and thou "shalt not draw water which is not thine own, and "blessed shalt thou be if thou abidest in my counsel.

General exhortations to a life of piety.

"And ye shall all be blessed if ye hearken unto "that which I say unto you, for ye will benefit "both yourselves and your neighbours. Abase "yourselves and perform gracious acts unto every "man. Turn ye aside from every idol which is not "pleasing unto God Almighty. And do ye deeds "of mercy to him that is your inferior, for God "Almighty hath given you honour and riches in "order that ye may give to the poor. All things "are possible unto God Almighty; could He not, "then, as well have given riches unto the poor and "needy as unto you? But He hath not done this "in order that there might be an occasion whereby "[ye might obtain] life, and that—if ye give to "the poor according to that which ye have, and "according as God hath blessed you, giving much "from your abundance, and little from your little— "ye might eat to your own [p. 318] profit, and "that ye might find life for yourself, and that your "household and your wife might find life thereby. "If ye multiply your gifts to the poor and needy "God will multiply His mercy upon you, and ye "shall become meet for dwelling-places of the "Holy Spirit. Now riches belong unto God Al-"mighty, Who knoweth him who doeth deeds of "charity, and [who] hath pity on the poor and "giveth, and who, having vowed with his mouth, "changeth not that which he hath spoken with his

"tongue. This is the truly rich man before God "Almighty,[1] and blessed is he that hath given unto "Him that hath given unto him; for God Almighty "will give him blessing on earth, and in heaven "He will exalt him exceedingly, for he shall neither "perish nor become old."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Advice to princes and governors.

"And ye governors, hearken unto my voice and "unto the words of counsel which I speak unto "you, and if ye do them ye shall live a happy "life, and God will bless the provinces over which "ye rule, and your seed shall multiply, and your "works shall prosper upon earth, and in heaven "ye shall find life and rest for your souls; but if "ye hearken not unto the words of my counsel "and ye do them not, ye shall find punishment, "both in heaven and upon earth. And know ye "that ye are beings which pass away, and that ye "have no long tarrying in this world; and if ye "tarry [therein] it shall be with shame and sorrow, "and ye shall have envy and hatred of your fellow "governors; and if your riches increase they shall "be in vain, and if ye have not in you upon earth "[p. 319] the knowledge of repentance and mercy, "the foundation of your treasure shall rot and shall "become worms in your hearts. If ye have apparel "it will rot, and it must be carefully watched that "the worm and the mouse do not make it to

[1] Read እግዚአብሔር ፡

"perish utterly. If it be cattle, they also must be "carefully watched that they be not destroyed by "the thief and the plunderer, or be carried away "from place to place in a foreign land. If ye have "gold and silver ye will have sorrow in carrying "them about in chests and boxes, and ye must "dig holes in the ground to place them therein to "save them from the destroyer, and from the "plunderer, and from the enemy, and from the "ravisher. What can I say to shew you that "everything is in vain unless ye do that which is "good upon earth? The governor who perverteth "judgment is evil in the sight of God. The go-"vernor who receiveth gifts and striveth to please "in the sight of men only is hateful in the sight "of God. The governor who is a fornicator and "who defileth the wives of other men, and who "neglecteth the cry of the poor and needy and "delivereth them not out of the hand of the op-"pressor and ravisher is evil in the sight of God. "The governor who maketh an image or an idol, "and who with fraud turneth aside to himself the "possessions of others is evil before God. The "governor who enquireth by magic, and is a sooth-"sayer and is one who useth enchantments, and is "a diviner by means of birds and stars, is hateful "unto God. The governor who is rapacious, and "whose house and fields [belong] to the children "of the dead, and who is arrogant, and is a drunkard, "and is a persecutor of the poor, and is one who "will not receive the widow, is hateful unto God.

Advice to princes and governors.

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Advice to princes and governors.

"[p. 320] The governor who loveth idle stories, and "jesting, and vain talk, and is a thief and a de-"stroyer of innocent blood in vain is hateful unto "God. The governor who feareth not God Al-"mighty and who remembereth not the day of his "death, and who hearkeneth not to the voice of "the teachers and of the Scriptures, and who maketh "laughter and idle jests before Him is hateful unto "God. The governor who watcheth not, and who "crieth not out in prayer in the house of God Al-"mighty, and who repenteth not, and fasteth not, "and prayeth not, but leadeth a life of enjoyment "with every kind of pleasure, and filleth his house "[with people], is abominated by God. Dost thou "not know, O governor, that although thou art a "man to-day, to-morrow thou wilt be dust? and "that although to-day [thou art held] in honour, "to-morrow thou wilt be a thing of no account? "To-day thou risest up from this place and put-"test thyself in another, but the time cometh when "thy hands and thy feet shall be bound so that "thou wilt be unable to move, or to rise up, or "to walk about. Know, then, that nothing which "remaineth in the world shall belong unto thee in "the day of thy death, for thy heirs shall divide "it amongst themselves, and nothing whatsoever of "the glory of thy house shall go down with thee "[into the grave]. If thou wilt hearken unto me "send on before thee some of thy riches that they "may be provisions for thy way, and give them "to the poor and to the stranger without usury.

"And give a pledge that God Almighty may be "thine advocate, and thou shalt find thy riches in "the storehouse of life where there is neither "merchandise nor market."

[p. 321] CHAPTER XXIV.

"And you, ye kings, hearken unto my counsel, "and if ye do[1] that which is good ye shall reign "both on earth and in heaven. Now the heavenly "kingdom is not like unto the kingdom which is "upon earth. On earth sovereignty is accompanied "by rebellion, and by hatred, and by enemies, but "in heaven the kingdom belongeth unto those "who love it, and is without sickness, or pain, or "terror in the habitation of joy[2] and gladness. "Turn away, then, from evil and do that which is "good, and thy memorial shall abide for ever in "fair renown, together with those who have wrought "the will of God Almighty; and thou shalt receive "[thy] crown, and thou shalt stand before Him "without shame, and thou shalt receive from Him "the wages of those who have pleased God Al-"mighty by their works. And, O thou who art "king in this world, set thyself straight with the "King Who never passeth away, for by Him do "kings reign, and it is He Who overthroweth the "mighty and Who exalteth the lowly. He hath "power over every power, He directeth every man, "He killeth and He maketh alive, He maketh poor

Advice to kings.

[1] Read ትገብሩ ፡

[2] Read ማኅደረ ፡ ትፍሥሕት ፡

Advice to kings.

"and He maketh rich, He bringeth a man into "disgrace and He promoteth him to honour, and "He hath might in heaven, and upon earth, and in "the sea, and in the abyss, and over angels, and men, "and over all the created things which He hath "created. And of the years of God Almighty no "man is capable of measuring the half of one "hour. He hath made thee to rule that He may "know thee, and know whether thou art able to "do His will and to keep His law.

"And thou shalt not diminish the days of thy "life, for God shorteneth the days of the proud, "and addeth unto the days of the humble, [p. 322] "even as He did for Hezekiah, the king of Judah, "the course of whose life He measured, and at "length, as a sign [that] his life [should be length- "ened], the sun went backwards ten degrees[1] so "that he might know that God had added unto "his days fifteen other years. Now God shortened "the days of Sennacherib by fifteen years because "of his pride, and He placed inside his head a "demon, who hammered it and slew him,[2] and "because of his transgression God overthrew both "his army and Rabshakeh together, even as it is "written.[3] Ye yourselves know that if ye wish "ye can hearken unto the voice of the Scriptures;

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[1] Isaiah xxxviii. 8.

[2] The writer seems to be confusing Sennacherib with Nimrod; see above, p. 278.

[3] Isaiah xxxvii. 36.

"whosoever desireth not the Scriptures, being a "king, hath rejected God Almighty, but whosoever "loveth the voice of the Scriptures loveth His "commandments. For the Scriptures illumine the "eyes of the hearts of kings and governors, and "prayer and the Scriptures are the mirror of the "heart of a king. Drunkenness and idle play ob-"scure the heart of a king, but the instruction of "the wise, and almsgiving to the poor make the "heart of a king to shine; the multiplying of words "and of idle stories obscureth the heart of a king. "As clouds obscure the light of the moon even so "doth the thought of fornication blacken the heart "of a king, and it maketh his head to reel like "the sickness caused by wine.

Advice to kings.

"O king, whom wouldst thou fear among men "if thou dost not fear God Almighty, Who hath "made thee to be king over His people? Do thou "shew favour unto Him even as He hath shewn "favour unto thee, for He hath made thee the "head of peoples who tremble [p. 323] at the sound "of thy voice, therefore do thou tremble at the "voice of the Scriptures of God Almighty. Peoples "and foreign folk fear thee, therefore do thou fear "the Lord thy God; nations and governors submit "unto thee, saluting and submitting unto thy royal "decree. Do thou submit thyself and make thyself "a servant unto God Almighty with all thy heart; "give unto Him and He will add to thee; hearken "unto Him and He will hearken unto thee; make "thyself a steward and He will find treasure for

"thee; be thou a helper unto Him and He will be "unto thee a prince.

Advice to kings.

"And, O earthly king, if thou will learn my "counsel, know that this world is a fleeting thing, "and that all we who live before thy time have learn-"ed the law of God Almighty by enquiring of the "Scriptures, for thou hast an ear, and eyes, and "understanding; and say not, 'No man can com-"prehend my glory'. And when thou lookest upon "thy soldiers, and thy horses, and thy shields[1] do "not imagine within thyself that thou hast made "them by thine own power, and so become puffed "up and say, 'What king that hath reigned was "ever like unto me?' For in that hour thy God "shall say unto thee, 'I give these things not to "thee, but to those who know Me.'

"Now Moses, being the best and meekest of "men, with one word provoked God Almighty to "wrath in Kadesh when the peoples [of Israel] "were athirst, for at that time, when God said to "him,[2] 'Take thy rod and smite the rock,' he took "it, and smote it, and he smote it a second time, "and the waters gushed forth from twelve fountains "and flowed along. And Moses said unto them, "'Take ye and drink,' and by reason of this speech "God Almighty was angry with him because he "had not sanctified Him before the people, and "because [p. 324] he did not say unto them, 'Take "ye that which the Lord your God hath given

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[1] Read ወወለቲቂከ ፡ [2] See Numbers xx. 8. ff.

"unto you, drink[1] and give thanks unto Him.' "And thou, [O king] likewise, if thou rememberest "not God Almighty, art a second Moses.[2] For "everything belongeth unto Him Who prohibited "Moses from entering into the land of promise, "and both fear and death, and do not imagine that "thou wilt continue always. Is not the condition "of life changed between eventide and morn?[3] "Observe, to-day there is abundance and then "[cometh] want; and take heed, for to-day there "are riches and to-morrow there is poverty. Re-"member that joy in this world tarrieth not, there-"fore perform righteous judgment, and fear God's "word. If thou fearest not the Scriptures of God "Almighty thou wilt never see His face at any "time, for they are His mouth, and His messengers, "and the people of [His] house; hearken then "unto their voice, and if thou fearest God Al-"mighty keep His statutes,[4] and set Him before "thine eyes continually. Whether thou sittest down, "or standest up, or journeyest, or whether thou "eatest or drinkest, or whether thou givest or art "plundered, or whether thou art wrathful or meek, "or whether thou inflictest punishment or shewest "mercy, fear God Almighty continually and set "Him before thine eyes; for whosoever loveth "Him He loveth, and whosoever honoureth Him "He promoteth to honour.

Advice to kings.

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[1] Read ስትዩ ፡ [2] Read ለሙሴ ፡
[3] See Wisdom of Sirach, xviii. 26. [4] Read ትእዛዛቲሁ ፡

"Now the heart of a king should be at one time "meek like that of a child who knoweth not evil, "and at another like that of a roaring lion when "he seizeth his prey, even as Ecclesiastes [p. 325] "saith, 'As are the heavens for height and the "earth for depth, even so is the measure of the "heart of a king'.[1] Blessed is the man who suc-"ceedeth in pacifying it, and who rejecteth haughti-"ness through the fear of his God. Lying speech "is an accursed thing in a king, even as the "prophet saith, 'Thou dost reject all those who "speak lies.'[2] To remember to take vengeance is "an accursed thing in a king, but to be long-"suffering and to leave off from evil are blessed. "The works of iniquity befit not the heart of a "king, who is the anointed of God Almighty, for "the prophet saith, 'To Thee, O God, belongeth "power, for Thou dost reward[3] every man accord-"ing to his work.'[4] And say not, O king, 'Who "shall see me? Who shall hear me? Who shall "make me afraid? Who shall rebuke me? Who "shall set himself in opposition to me? For I am[5] "over and above all.' Now when thou thinkest "such things the Spirit of God Almighty departeth "from thee, and an evil spirit draweth nigh unto "thee; let purity in prayer and keeping unde-"filed the body be preferred [by thee] before

Advice to kings.

[1] Proverbs xxv. 3. [2] Compare Psalm xl. 4.

[3] Compare Psalm lxii. 11; St. Matthew xvi. 27; Jeremiah xvii. 10. [4] Read ምግባሩ ፡ [5] Read አነ ፡

"everything, and the service of idols is the worst "of all sins. Make pure thy heart that it may "be a dwelling-place for God Almighty, put thou "thy confidence in Him and He shall work for "thee, and He shall make thy righteousness like "the light, and thy just dealing like the noonday,[1] "and thy heart shall gush out with the things "which benefit. Make not then sin to flow abund- "antly, and darken not the bright eyes of thy heart "with iniquity. A kingdom in heaven hath been "prepared for thee, make not, then, Sheol thy "dwelling-place. And do not thyself destroy the "habitation and reward which are laid up for thee,[2] "and thou shalt not become an apostate; for thou "art a child of the kingdom [p. 326], and thou art "the anointed of God Almighty. How great is "His love for thee! for He hath fashioned thee[3] "in His own likeness, and He hath made thee in "His own image. And as the strong and mighty "angels whom He hath in heaven who do His "will, whether it be to punish or whether it be "to shew mercy, minister unto Him in fear, even "so do thy servants minister unto thee in fear, "and they make ready and perform nobly for thee "that which thou thinkest and sayest, and there "is none who diminisheth aught of thy greatness, "for they shew themselves ready and willing in "everything. Despise not His body which is on

Advice to kings.

[1] Psalm xxxvii. 6. [2] Read ለከ ፡
[3] Read ወበአምሳሊሁ ፡

"thee, and make it not a thing of naught for ever;[1] "rejoice[2] thou thyself in the hearing of my counsel "and do it.

Advice to kings.

"For I, Alexander, am a man like unto thyself, "and in sin was I conceived, and I have in me "the pleasure of the lust of the body, which leadeth "it astray as it doth all the children of Adam; "but by the mercy of God Almighty and by His "good pleasure He hath made the pleasure of lust "in me as the dung and filth which are cast out "into the draught. Do thou, then, likewise place "thy confidence, and thy love, and thy desire, and "thy belief in God Almighty, even like Elijah, the "friend of God, who rejected the pleasure of the "lust of this world, and who became like an angel "in his body and who together with Enoch, the "scribe of the statutes of God Almighty, inhe-"rited the country of the living. And He it is "Who hath ordered me to leave behind [me] "counsel to those [kings] who will perform righteous "judgment upon earth, and blessed is the king "who will do it, and keep it, and will perform "the will of God Almighty; for He will ordain[3] "for him sovereignty, and He will set him [p. 327] "over all the nations[4] of the earth. As God "punisheth those who work iniquity, even so will "He make to live those who do that which is "good, and who walk in the right way. And as

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[1] Read ለዝሉፉ ፡ [2] Read ትትፌሣሕ ፡
[3] Read ወወሀበ ፡ [4] Read አሕዛበ ፡

"He doeth that which is good to every one that "believeth and putteth his confidence in Him, even "so He will not scatter the sheep nor destroy the "lambs of him whom God hath placed to be their "shepherd, and not one of them shall perish; but "God hath confidence in His flock and in the "noble creation which He hath made. How good "and pleasant is it for kings and governors to "continue in spotless purity, and in love, and in "peace, and in righteousness of judgment, and in "showing mercy to the poor, and in not causing "them to cry out, and in saving him that is alone "and in misery!

Advice to kings.

"These are the things which shall be good for "you before God Almighty in the day when He "will reward the righteous and the sinners, and "when He entereth into judgment with them, when "the mother shall not be able to deliver her child, "when the earth shall give up the things which "have been committed to it, when the heavens "and the earth shall glow with fervent heat, when "everything shall be revealed, when everything "shall be on fire, when the hidden things of creation "shall be revealed, and when the mountains shall "melt like wax in the midst of the fire. Then shall "reign with Him those who have wrought that "which is good, and their joy and the days of "their life shall never end. And what measure "and what limit shall there be to the days and "to the joy of the righteous, and of the bishops, "and of the priests, and of the monks who have

"wrought the will of the Most High? There shall "be given unto them a new heart, and a new "[p. 328] appearance, and they shall become spiritual "beings like the angels, and they shall participate "in His glory with the angels, and they shall be "one shepherd and one flock, to the glory of His "Godhead and of the majesty of His power. And "to Him that created them shall they minister "continually, and the hosts of heaven shall stand "before Him in their several families and in their "several companies, together with the archangels "who sing praises unto Him ceaselessly, and they "shall give thanks unto Him and shall never be "brought to silence. And as for us, let us make "supplication unto Him that our praises may be "mingled with the praises of the spiritual beings, "and that God Almighty may make us to stand "at His right hand, together with His lambs for "ever and for ever, Amen."

Advice to kings.

CHAPTER XXV.

The object of Alexander's advice.

These are the things which Alexander, the righteous king and prophet, [who is worthy of] mention with Elijah the Prophet and with Enoch the righteous man, wrote in the Country of the Living to instruct the generation who should come after him, and to prepare the way of the King of kings, Who was to come [and to inform them] of His work of salvation for Adam and his children, who were His handiwork and whom the Devil had led into the subjection of the error of

idols, and of His going down into Sheol for this reason, and of His putting on the body of Adam, and of His bearing patiently both ignominy and shame, and of His crucifixion upon the tree, and of His side being pierced by the spear, and of His not despising death, and of His being numbered with the dead, and of His Resurrection on the third day, and of His teaching unto His disciples of the remission of sins, and of His gift of the Holy Ghost, and of His new **[p. 329]** world, and of His Ascension into heaven while His disciples were looking on, and of His going up and sitting on the right hand of His Father, and of His making to come down the Comforter of the world, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, and of His being with His Father as in old time without diminution, and without transformation and change, and of His coming a second time with glory, having put on that same body which Adam put on, to judge both the quick and the dead. Now the dead are the sinners in Sheol who shall be judged a second time, and the living are the righteous who have no second death but only life everlasting, and with them shall be reckoned His servants for ever and ever, Amen.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Tract of Philo Archbishop of Alexandria.

Here followeth the tract which Philo, the Archbishop of Alexandria wrote, and he said, "I found "it inscribed in a work written upon brass among "the archives of the kings of Macedonia."

"Now we know of a certainty that Alexander "ruled over fourteen kings before the coming of "our Lord Jesus Christ. He kept his body pure "and undefiled by fornication, and he removed and "put away every idol, and image, and priest of "a false god; he drove out fiends and devils, and "shut in vipers by means of his pure prayers. "He made manifest the kingdom of God Almighty, "and the truth, and purity, and splendour of God "his Lord, in nobleness of life, and in righteousness "and peace; this was the kingdom of God Almighty. "He made war upon those who had rebelled against "God, and upon the soothsayers who had not His "[p. 330] law in them, but those who had placed "their confidence in God Almighty and in their "king he had no desire to attack, and he never "shed the blood of any of them."[1]

The author's remarks.

The prayer of the king anointed of God, and that which he doeth in purity are acceptable, for God never maketh him to inflict punishment or to gird himself with the sword in vain. And thy throne was covered with purple like unto blood, O Alexander, [to shew] that God would work His will by thy hand upon those who transgress the law, and upon those who lie in ambush on the way, and upon those who slay the souls of their neighbours with crafty malice. For the prophets of false gods and for idolaters who have not kept the law of God Almighty slaughter is meet, for

[1] The quotation seems to end here.

their blood is like unto the blood of vipers which gnaw the body of their mother in the womb and [then] come forth, and like that of mad dogs which men slay before they bite and destroy their neighbours. So likewise is it with those who have transgressed against God Almighty, for their reward will find them, even as it is written, but those who work the will of God Almighty shall be saved. And concerning them, Philo, the Archbishop [of Alexandria,] saith, "Their blood shall never drop "upon the earth, for for their sakes the Son of God "Almighty came down from heaven, and shed His "blood upon the Cross for the redemption of all "[the people of] the world who do His will, so that "sins [which demanded] the shedding of blood might "not be imputed unto those who place their faith "in God Almighty and in their king. These shall "sit down on the right and on the left hand of "[p. 331] the king, and those who have counselled "him rightly shall be saved, together with their "king, even as it is written, 'There is safety in "'the prayer of an anointed king even among the "'foe.' And if the king doeth that which was "wrongly advised by those who counselled him "[to do] evil, the sin shall not[1] be imputed unto "him, but the error of those who counselled him "to do evil shall rest with them, and their sin shall "be reckoned unto them, and they shall themselves "bear their own punishment.[2]

The author's remarks.

[1] Read ኢይትኌለቆ ፡ [2] Read መቅሠፍተ ፡

The author's remarks.

Now for the king to do what he himself counselleth without the advice of his fellows is a sign of his folly, and it is written that his folly shall rest upon himself and that his counsellors shall be delivered; but woe unto him that shall bring evil counsel from out of his heart wherewith to counsel the king, even like Ahithophel's[1] counsel unto Absalom, the son of David, for straightway he shall be hanged and shall die. This, now, is the prophecy wherewith he symbolized Judah,[2] the betrayer of his God. Why did ye give evil counsel to your gracious king, and meanwhile ate at his table and drank of his cup, and arrayed yourselves in royal apparel which were his possession? Everything which he had belonged to you and your followers, both that which was in the house and that which was in the field. Now everyone who is king is subject unto God Almighty. And whither will ye flee, and whither will ye escape so that ye may not be found by your king? Whether [what ye have done] be good or whether it be evil, it shall find you out. But what hath your king done? Were ye not yourselves counsellors, and princes, and elders, and nobles, and governors? Ye have brought envy and hatred upon yourselves and in this ye shall find your reward. And your righteous [p. 332] king, what hath he done? Did he not sit upon his throne and decree gladness for his chosen

[1] Compare 2 Samuel xv. 12, ff.

[2] *I. e.*, Judas Iscariot; see St. Matthew xxvii. 5.

ones and meditate upon the judgment of his Lord, and upon the salvation of his own soul? Ye could not bring evil counsel to him, and ye could not corrupt his heart, for he is the dwelling-place of God Almighty, and nothing whatsoever can bring evil into his heart; for no man reigneth of his own strength unless God Almighty willeth it. Keep yourselves and behave righteously in every good work in order that ye may obtain a reward from your king and the salvation of your souls from God Almighty. For fleeting is [your] habitation in this world which groweth old and perisheth, and it cannot obtain its own redemption; and nothing abideth in this world except God Almighty, Whose days alone cannot be counted, and Whose dominion cannot be overthrown. His habitation is in the heights of heaven, and every creature submitteth to the voice of His power, because He is the king over all, and to Him honour and glory are meet for ever and ever. Amen.

The author's remarks.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Now Alexander first of all shaped aright the actions of his own body, and then God Almighty shaped for him aright the things which concerned his soul; and Alexander shaped aright the kingdom of his Lord unto the ends of the earth, and then God Almighty became his helper in everything which he asked from Him. [p. 333] Every day would he rise up to wage war if he heard of any

Alexander's efforts aided by God.

who used divination or worshipped false gods, and he would destroy them and bring them to an end with the edge of the sword, and thus he continued to do all the days of his life; and God Almighty heard his prayer, and received his petitions and [gave] unto him everything for which he asked.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Spirit of God announces his death.

And it came to pass that the Spirit of God Almighty appeared unto him as at first, and He shewed Himself unto him continually, and He spake unto him, saying, "Thou hast ended the strife "which is in thy body, and thou hast put thy faith "in God Almighty, and now, come rest thyself "in the habitation of the noble kings Abraham, "and Isaac, and Jacob, and David, and Solomon. "And although thou art not of their race according "to the body, yet art thou their kinsman by reason "of [thy] works of righteousness. Thou hast be- "lieved in God Almighty like Abraham, thou hast "kept thyself pure like Isaac, and thou art holy like "unto Jacob, and thou art meek like unto David, "and thou art wise like unto Solomon; and thy "dwelling-place shall be in the kingdom of heaven "for ever and for ever."

Alexander knows that he is to die.

And it came to pass that when Alexander heard [these things] he was moved within himself, and sorrow laid hold upon him, and his members became feeble, and he was smitten with weakness; and he told his servants and his chosen ones to prepare for him a darkened chamber, and they

[did so] and they hung it about with spears and with shields of gold and silver. Then he lifted up his eyes and seeing it lit up and shining with metal, he knew that the time of his death had arrived according to the former words of the Spirit of God, Who said unto him, "When the "heavens appear to thee as brass above [p. 334] "thy head, and when the stars appear to thee "like gold and silver, then shall thy death be."[1] And Alexander called one of his good friends from the palace whom he was in the habit of sending constantly to his mother,[2] and he said unto him, "Tell my mother that I have conquered "in the war of the body, and behold, I have come "to my rest. And now, make thou a feast that "I may eat and make merry, and may not die, "and do thou take the water for it from a house "wherein no man hath ever died; if thou doest "this thou wilt never die in this world." Now his mother loved him very much and very dearly and more than her own soul, and she rose up quickly to seek for the water, even as her son had bidden her to do, for she imagined that she could find water in a house wherein no man had died; and she went round about through the great city of Macedonia for a whole day seeking [for the water] but she found [it] not. And when she had rested somewhat, for she was weary with going round about among the houses of the poor

His message to his mother.

Olympias seeks for water in a house in which no man had died.

[1] See above, p. 503. [2] See above, p. 375.

and of the rich, she said unto the people, "Can "I find any one of whom no kinsman hath died, "and obtain from him water wherewith I may "make a feast and so save my son Alexander "from death?" But she found him not, for death had gotten dominion over all the race of men. One said, "My father is dead," and another said, "My mother is dead," and another said, "My child "is dead," and another said, "My kinsman is dead," and they all, each and every one, told her that some of their kinsfolk were dead; and from him, moreover, with whom she found a dead body, she returned without asking her question. Then Olympias went back to her house to rest herself from her fatigue, and she meditated [p. 335] in her heart, saying, "Is there no house in which I "can find that death hath not entered? Is there "no man to be found of whom some kinsman "hath not died?" And thus thinking, her mind, which had been greatly disturbed, returned to its natural state, and she said, "My son, in his wisdom, "hath sent me this message that I might comfort "myself for his death; but I say, O my son, that "every man hath a dead [kinsman]." And straightway she cried out and fell down on the earth, and she made lamentation with loud cries and wept, but afterwards when she had comforted herself, she said, "I give thanks unto God Al-"mighty, for although my son is dead he shall "live in Him. For he kept his body pure and "undefiled, and he wrought the will of his Lord,

The lament of Olympias.

"and his name is honourable, and his memorial "shall be upon earth. His strength was mighty "like that of a lion, and at his terrible roarings "the sea was moved, and the abyss was poured "out, and nations were conquered by him, and "kings submitted unto him, and governors bowed "low before him, and mountains burst into flame, "and fiends and devils worshipped and were sealed "with the name of his Lord. God Almighty was "the light on his path and the Country of Darkness "terrified him not; [he marched on] until he entered "into the promised land. He found the living "ones who never taste death and made a cove-"nant with them, and then he returned to his "own land and abolished the priests of false gods, "and slew those who used divination, and blotted "out the sorcerers and the workers of magic. "What man born of a woman, who hath lived "before thee can be found like unto thee, O my son "Alexander? He turned not away his face from "the enemy until he had broken the power of "the foe, and there was never a [p. 336] time "when a man could say of him, 'He is vanquished;' "for he conquered always by the power of God "Almighty his Lord. With what words, now, shall "I weep for my son? Is it in question of his "handsome form? There was no beauty like unto "his. His eyes were bright and shining like lamps "in the darkness, and his figure was straight like "a palm; there was nothing whatsoever unsightly "in his members, and there was nothing at all

The lament of Olympias.

"wicked in his deeds. He pleased both myself, "his mother, and God Almighty. Woe is me, O "my son Alexander, for in thy lifetime thou didst "rejoice my soul, and now in thy death thou hast "burnt up my heart; my knees fail me with "weariness, my members are unknit, and my bones "are broken to pieces. Woe is me, O my son, "my honour and my ornament. Woe is me, O "my son, my charm and my beauty. Woe is me, "O my son, for my womb is burnt up, and my "heart is scorched, and I am shrivelled up like "grass before the fire, and there is neither mind "nor any understanding whatsoever [left] in me.

The lament of Olympias.

"I am neglected, moreover, on every side, and I "have[1] no place whither to flee, for God Almighty "hath shewn Himself to be unmindful of me, for "He hath neither allowed His servant to comfort "me, nor to direct aright His kingdom, nor to do "His good pleasure. Behold, O God, my pains "and my affliction, and make haste to help me "by reason of the sorrow which is in my heart, "and neglect not the entreaties wherewith I have "cried out unto Thee always, for Thou dost hearken "unto the prayers of the pure who invoke Thee "by reason of their transgressions and sins. Thou "dost deliver him that putteth his confidence in "Thee, and Thou teachest him who believeth in "Thee, [p. 337] and Thou takest vengeance upon "the oppressor by one who is stronger than he.

[1] Read ወኢሎብየ ፡

"O Father of the orphan, Stay of the widow, "Comforter of the sorrowful, Helper of him that "hath no helper, Creator of all men, Vivifier of "all men, Who makest to boast those who take "refuge in Thy name, be Thou to my son Alexander "a place of rest and a habitation of delight. He "bore no fruit in [this] world in order that he "might bear fruit unto Thee, for he preferred to "do [Thy] work. He had no child to leave behind "to become my son by Thy goodness, and he "never married a wife who could have wept with "me. He never took pleasure in the sinful riches "of Sheol, and he heaped up no wealth to leave "behind, as rich men are wont to do, for he "wished to have treasure in heaven. Therefore be "not Thou ashamed, O God, of the treasure of "Thy help, for he hearkened unto Thy com-"mandments, and kept Thy will, and he never "served other gods besides Thee. Be Thou to "him merciful, be Thou to him a helper, and "receive Thou him in peace, for praise is meet "for Thee. Reject not, O God, the voice of Thy "sorrowful, and miserable, and sad handmaiden." And she ceased not to say these and such like words, and she was shedding tears as it were rivers of water, and as she wept she mourned and lamented through love for her son, and she could not be comforted for him by reason of the great sorrow which was in her heart.

The lament of Olympias.

Now when Alexander saw the sign for which he had asked formerly he knew concerning his

death, and afterwards he sent to comfort [p. 338] his mother, for he knew that she loved him exceedingly, and that because of her love her heart could not be comforted.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Now there was a certain friend of Alexander whose name was Kômsât, and he was one of the generals of the hosts of the governors of Macedonia, and he loved him exceedingly by reason of the beauty of the life which he led for the sake of God Almighty, and he was wise in his counsel and mighty in war. And the two men loved each other exceedingly, and they were wont to converse together on the things which were for their own benefit, and they edified many men by their words and those who hearkened unto them, for as is the prince even so is his attendant. Now Alexander the king loved the works of righteousness, and all his followers also loved good works; they fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, they judged righteously, and they made the poor man rich. In the days of Alexander the king righteousness shewed itself and was revealed, and no man at that time evilly oppressed another; and as for those who were without, he removed every image and idol from out of his kingdom.

Alexander and Kômsât.

And it came to pass that when Kômsât, the ally of Alexander the king, saw that he was nigh to die, he wept on the pillow of Alexander the king, and spake, saying, "Woe is me. Art thou

"then a man? And must thou also die, even as "other men die who have defiled their bodies and "who are strangers unto God Almighty? No man "born of a woman hath ever kept his body in "subjection like Alexander, and no ruler of a "kingdom hath ever turned aside from his lust "as he hath done. Alexander the king hath wrought "a [p. 339] great and marvellous thing, and no "man can be compared with him except Elijah, "the prophet of God Almighty, who went up to "heaven in his virginity, who set a bridle upon "heaven by his prayer and who blotted out the "shrines of fiends and devils. And thou art like "unto him, O my lord. What words can I utter? "Whither shall I flee? And who shall be my "helper this day in my affliction? If it were any "visible person I would stand up against him in "armour with my attendant, and I would never "let go my adversary until my spirit passed from "my body; but what can I do against Him whom "I have neither seen nor heard whence He cometh, "or whither He goeth, or where is His habitation? "No man can resist Him, and although sages have "in times of old sought it, they have never found "the trace of the way by which He carrieth off "their souls. All things exist by His word, and "the soul of every man is in His hand, and He "bringeth back everything to Himself; to Him be "praise everlastingly from the mouth of all created "things."

The lament of Ḳômsât.

And Alexander answered and said unto him,

Alexander's answer.

"Leave me, for my pain, and my misery, and my "distress, and my exhaustion are sufficient for me. "And why dost thou tell me 'that I ought to flee "'from the hand of God Almighty?' Woe be to "the sinner if he flee not by means of repentance "in the days of his life, for he knoweth not the "day of his death. Whither can a man flee from "God Almighty? If I mount up into heaven, God "is there, if I go down into the abyss, He is its "Creator, and if I flee to the ends of heaven and "[p. 340] earth [He is there]; no man can escape "from His hand. Now a man may escape by "repentance and by drawing nigh unto God Al-"mighty; listen then unto me, and I will tell thee "how. The days shall come when a man shall be "saved by three things, by faith, by baptism, and "by repentance; and there shall be in the days "of him that shall come a King Who shall be a "lover of repentance, and a receiver of sinners, "and a raiser of the dead. And in those days "blessed are those who have given themselves by "good works and repentance to Him that cometh "before the face of God Almighty to judge both "the living and the dead, and to reward every "man according to his works. Now the living are "the angels and the righteous, and the dead are "the fiends, and the devils, and the sinners. And "He will do what is just at His righteous judgment "seat, and He will reward those who have endured "patiently, according to their forbearance, with a "kingdom which passeth not away, and with royal

"crowns made of beautiful leaves which grow not "old, and they shall dwell with Him for ever, for "the days of gladness shall neither perish nor come "to an end. Hitherto eye hath not seen, and "hitherto ear hath not heard, neither can be de-"scribed or conceived by the mind the things which "God hath prepared for those who have endured "patiently from the creation of the world; but for "the fiends and devils, and for the sinners He hath "prepared punishment and the flame of fire, from "which there is no escape, for ever and for ever. "And for those who have heaped up riches the "punishment is fire, and brimstone, and ice, and "snow, and the abyss of Sheol, and gnashing of "teeth, and the worm which [p. 341] slumbereth "not; and they shall have no comfort during the "length of their days and their seasons. The doom "of the wicked is to be in the tortures of Sheol al-"ways, and although they suffer torment they shall "not die for ever and for ever, even though they "endure such anguish in the pains of Sheol as "cannot be described.

Alexander answers Kômsât.

"This is the reward of the sinners, which is "according to their works, and the reward of the "righteous is according to their patient endurance. "He that hath suffered patiently here, and whose "days in this world have been few, and whose joy "hath been little shall rejoice [there] in a multitude "of days and in a length of days and seasons "which cannot be numbered. Hearken, moreover, "O my brother, and I will tell thee. The joy of

Alexander answers Kômsât.

"this world thou mayest consider as a single talent "of brass, but the joy which is there is as ten "thousand times ten thousands of thousands of "talents of gold; such is the joy of the righteous. "And, moreover, bear [with me] and take another "demonstration of [my] words. Supposing thou "wert to lend a *dînâr* of lead in the evening and "on the morrow [the borrower] paid thee back "with one hundred times ten thousand times ten "thousand [of *dînânîr*] made of pure, and refined, "and tried silver which had been[1] cleansed from "dross seven times; even so to a man who hath "endured but a very little shall be given the "strength of the strong man for a length of days. "Now the lead typifieth the folly which [is soft and] "cannot endure patiently, and its weight is like "unto the works of sin, which also resemble lead "in their appearance; but silver is hard and re-"sembleth patient endurance. Do thou, then, O "my brother Kômsât, reject the *dînâr* of lead "which is [p. 342] the folly of the lust of the "world—for the nature of lead is soft and in a "very small fire it melteth—and take to thyself "the *dînânîr* of silver; in return for thy patient "endurance thou shalt have joy, and in return for "thy brass farthing thou shalt receive thousands of "talents of gold. Such is the similitude of thy "abstinence from the lust of the world. The water "is foetid and turbid, restrain[2] thyself, then, and

[1] Read እምድኅር ፡ [2] Read ተዓገሥ ፡

"drink it not, for in return for a little longsuffering "there shall be given to thee the water of life "which is sweeter than honey and sugar. Now "the 'foetid and turbid water' of which I speak "unto thee is the lust of the world which is vain, "for though it may appear unto thee to be sweet, "it is as bitter wormwood to the saints. Woe unto "him who shall accustom himself to the sin of lust, "for his death shall be without repentance; but "whosoever, having known this lust of the world "doth, notwithstanding, turn away therefrom with "repentance, blessed is he, and God Almighty "will receive the fornicator, and will hearken unto "his prayer as [unto that of] a virgin."

Then Kômsât his disciple answered and said unto Alexander the king, "Why dost thou speak "unto me in this manner as if punishment were re- "served [for us] after our death? And, moreover, "no man hath returned to this world after his "death to tell us what manner of punishment [is "there]."

The objection of Kômsât.

CHAPTER XXX.

And Alexander again answered and said, "Why "speakest thou in this manner, and why, too, dost "thou add thyself unto those who oppose me in "this matter? Dost thou not believe in future "punishment and in the resurrection of the dead? "[p. 343] And whither wilt thou thyself flee from "the chastisement which shall find the sinners who "do not believe in the resurrection of the dead?

Alexander's reply.

"Moses the prophet, the servant of God Almighty, "said, 'This is a statute from me, and it is written "'and sealed in my treasure-house; I will take "'vengeance upon them like him that hath a cause "'against them, and they shall straightway die "'without repentance'. And again Isaiah[1] the pro- "phet saith, 'The dead shall live, and those who "'are in the graves shall arise, and those on the "'earth who have endured patiently shall rejoice "'and be glad, for the dew which is from Thee "'is their life, and God will blot out the country "'of the sinners'. And David[2] saith, 'The children "'of the sons of men are liars, and they act with "'fraud, and when laid in the balance they [weigh] "'very much less than nothing at all. Put not "'your hope in crafty violence, and place not your "'confidence in plunder; if ye become rich, make "'not your hearts to swell out. For what is given "'is from Him, and to Him belongeth the power "'to reward unto every man according to his "'work'.

Moses, Isaiah and Ezekiel quoted.

"And Ezekiel prophesied[3] concerning the bones "of men and concerning the resurrection of the "dead when God Almighty shewed them to him "in the valley of Kôbâr, as He [sat] in a chariot "[drawn by] four beasts, whilst thousands of other "chariots drove round about Him, some on His "right hand, and some on His left. Now when

[1] Isaiah xxvi. 19. [2] Psalm lxii. 9.
[3] Ezekiel chap. xxxvii.

"the prophet Ezekiel came to the bones of men "which had been gathered together in the valley "[he found that] they belonged to those who had "been slain by Dôyaḳ, the king of Assyria, [p. 344] "and that it was forty and five years ago since "they had died. And these bones of men had "waxed old and they had decayed through the "heat of the sun and through the cold of the frost, "and some of them were rotten, and some were "wormeaten, and some had gone to dust; [now "these things had taken place] that the work of "God Almighty might be made manifest. And "Ezekiel stood over the bones of the men and "his heart wondered, for he was like thyself, "O Kômsât, doubtful within himself concerning the "resurrection of the dead, only he stood there "in prayer looking upon the bones of the men "which were in the valley. Then he said, 'O God, "'how shall the resurrection of these dead men "'be? How can it take place unless one bone be "'moved to its fellow, and those which belong to "'one another be brought together? but they cannot "'separate themselves, for they are mixed together'. "And it came to pass that while he was meditating "upon this thing in this wise, He that sitteth upon "a chariot of light appeared unto him, and said "unto him, 'Son of man, prophesy over all these "'bones of men which are before thee, so that "'thou mayest know that My voice can do all "'things, and say, 'Let the winds be gathered to- "'gether from the ends of heaven and earth, and

The vision of the valley of dry bones.

The vision of dry bones.

"'let bone be fastened unto bone by the sinew "'thereof, and let member grow solid on member "'with the nerves thereof, and let limb grow firm "'upon limb with the fibre thereof, and let them "'be covered with flesh, and let skin envelop them'. "And while He was saying these words, when as "yet He had not finished His speech, and while "the prophet was speaking, in a moment all the "dead who were [lying] before the prophet stood "up, and not one of their members was wanting. "The bone of the hand had not placed itself "[p. 345] upon the bones of the foot, and the bone "of the heel had not come upon the bone of the "neck; but they were all joined to their own mem- "bers, and every bone was fastened by its own sinew. "And, moreover, God gathered together blood and "placed it in them, and understanding was given "unto them, and they moved and went about, and "became living beings, even as they had been in "days of old. Then the prophet marvelled and "smote his hands together, and he went backwards "in fear over the earth, and he saw with terror "that all the bones had risen up before he had "finished the words which he was saying, even "as the Holy Spirit Who was in the chariot had "announced to him."

Objection of Kômsât.

And Kômsât answered and said unto him, "I "never knew or heard of this thing until to-day, "and I never understood until this day that a man "could be raised up [again]; for our bodies grow "old and decay, and our bones crumble to pieces

"and become like the dust which the winds scatter "over the face of the earth. And, moreover, some "men die in the river and the crocodiles devour "their bodies; and some perish by fire and their "flesh and bones are burnt up, and not a handful "[of their dust] can be found, and even that [little] "the winds scatter abroad; and some, again, die "in the desert and before they can be buried wild "beasts eat up their flesh, and gnaw to pieces and "devour their bones; and similarly each man hath "a different manner of death. And, finally, in the "matter of those who are buried, their bones decay "and become dust after a time, and they are dug "up eventually and men make them into potter's "vessels and build [p. 346] habitations with them. "And as for what thou sayest, namely, that Ezekiel "the prophet raised up bones which had been dead "for forty-five years and they became new again, "how could it possibly be?"

He has doubts about the resurrection.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Alexander's reply.

And Alexander the king answered and said unto Kômsât, "Why wilt thou be so senseless as not "to believe? Thou makest me to forget my pain "and anguish, and thou bringest back thine own "mind again into mad folly. Why wilt thou be "so slow of heart in [understanding] the sign? "Thou art of the depraved seed of the family of "Midian and of the seed of Agâr; but listen, and "I will explain it unto thee. With God Almighty "everything is possible, and there is nothing which

"He is not able to do, and in very truth He "brought every man into being from a state of "not being, and He created him in His own form, "and constituted him a living soul with the power "of speech and talk like an instrument, that every "one might praise His holy name. Is there any "reason which can lead thee to imagine that He "created the children of men for naught? Set behind "thee this folly of the mind and turn thee to the "knowledge of understanding. Since God brought "man into being from a state of not being is He "without the power of raising him [from the dead]? "But hearken, and be not doubting, and take heed "unto that which I will speak unto thee, for mighty "is the work of God Almighty. Now thou sayest "that the bones of men crumble away and become "dust, and that some men die in the river and "the crocodiles eat them, and that some die [p. 347] "in the desert and the wild beasts devour them, "and their bones become dust on the face of the "earth; but all these shall be gathered together, "and they shall be raised up by the grace of the "mercy of God Almighty when the blast of His "trumpet shall sound by the hand of Michael the "Archangel.

God's power is omnipotent.

Alexander describes the resurrection.

"At the first blast of the trumpet there shall be "a storm of wind throughout the whole earth, and "for these men of whom thou sayest that, 'Cro-"codiles and wild beasts have devoured them,' "and, 'Have they not died and become dust?' the "angels will be sent with the winds by God's

The first blast of the trumpet.

"command, and by His power ashes shall be "separated from ashes, and dust from dust, and "bone from bone, and each shall be gathered "together in its proper place. And the dew of the "mercy of God Almighty shall come down, and "the various members shall be gathered together "and become one body, like those of the spirits "of the righteous.

"At the second blast of the trumpet the treasure-"houses of God Almighty shall be opened, and "the treasure-houses of light wherein the spirits "of the righteous dwell shall be revealed, and the "treasure-houses of darkness wherein the spirits "of sinners dwell shall also be made manifest. "And the angels of light shall receive the spirits "of the righteous who have put their trust in [their] "protection, and the angels of darkness shall receive "the spirits of sinners, and shall bring them back "to their own bodies. And man shall be perfect "and without corruption like our father Adam "whom God Almighty created; whether it be a "child, or whether it be a poor man, or whether "it be a blind man, or whether it be a lame man, "they all shall become living beings like our father "[p. 348] Adam, in whom was no corruption what-"soever, and they shall live by the voice of God "Almighty. And everything which is on earth "shall be forgotten, and no man shall remember "the lusts of earth, for they are vanity, and every "thought which belongeth to the things of this "world shall be forgotten, even as a dream which

The second blast of the trumpet.

The new man.

"cannot be recalled; and they shall become as "was Adam when he was first created, and as he "was before he had transgressed by eating of the "tree. Children of the light and spiritual beings "shall they become, for their flesh shall have been "swallowed up in the spirit of life, and the folly "of darkness shall have been renewed into know-"ledge, in the light of intelligence and understanding. "There shall be neither male, nor female, nor "righteous, nor sinners, but all those who shall "become perfect shall be the children of light, and "they shall be like the angels of God Almighty, "for they shall be the children of the light and "spiritual beings. As the root of a grain of wheat, "or of a grain of barley, which, having been sown "on good ground and died, germinateth, and by "the dew of God Almighty groweth up and pro-"duceth ears and grains of corn wherein is no "blemish, even so shall soul and body be raised "up perfect and without diminution or corruption, "like our father Adam when he was first created "and before he sinned, now his body was ruddy "like a bunch of roses, and his soul was pure even "more than his body; and as the potter reneweth "his clay even so will God Almighty renew Adam "and all his children. If a man hath not made his "deeds acceptable unto God, nor hath kept His "commandments, [p. 349] He will destroy him with "death, but even then, if He wisheth, He will "make him new again in life.

After the resurrection men shall be perfect.

The grain of wheat.

"And at the third blast of the trumpet all men

"shall stand up, each in his own place, and they "all shall be rewarded according to their works; "every man shall reap according as he hath sown, "and every man shall receive according to what "is due to him. And the righteous shall stand "up on the right hand [of God] and sinners on "the left, and the Devil and his fiends and devils "shall be given over to judgment in the abyss of "punishment and in the depths of Sheol, together "with all the sinners who have walked in the will "of the Devil the proud one, the seducer. Then "by the command of God Almighty the gates of "Sheol and the mouth of Gehenna shall be opened "wide, and sinners and fiends and devils, together "with the Devil their father, shall enter therein, "and Sheol shall be sealed up, and there shall they "suffer torment for ever and ever. And sinners "shall not die a second time, but they shall be "punished with mighty torture for which there "shall be no respite, and all those sinners who, "like thyself, have not believed in the resurrection "of the dead, and those who have not kept the "commandments of God Almighty, shall be destroyed "from the inheritance of the righteous."

The third blast of the trumpet.

The doom of sinners.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Kômsât asks for further information.

Then Kômsât, Alexander's disciple, answered and said unto him, "What, now, is this 'inheritance of "the righteous' of which thou speakest? I have never "heard of such a thing as this either from my "father or from the wise, and no man who hath

"died hath risen from the dead and come back hither "and told us saying, 'Thus shall it be.' Thou "[p. 350] knowest and art very certain that these "things shall happen unto thee, and thou hast kept "thy body pure and undefiled in order that thou "mayest come guiltless before the judgment seat "of God Almighty. And thou knowest, moreover, "that everything shall pass away and shall be "forgotten, and that the good things of this world "shall not abide for ever, and that the beauty of "form shall be destroyed, and that the love of "children and of wife shall be forgotten, and that "the love of riches and possessions, together with "the taste of meats, shall no more be had in remem-"brance. And thou hast kept in thy mind and "hast known certainly that the day of thy death "would come, and that thine hour would come; "and thou hast kept all these things in thy mind, "and hast forsaken the love of children and the "love of kinsfolk, except only that of thy mother "who gave thee birth. And now, my lord, depart "to thy God, the Giver of thy reward, Who hath "prepared for thee a fair path and a fair habi-"tation. Thou hast been a ploughman who drove "his furrow straight, and like the husbandman who "tilleth his tillage carefully, and like the hand-"maiden who feareth her mistress, even so hast "thou directed aright thy soul and thy body, and "thou hast made thy kingdom to appear pure and "right. And as for us we did not know that this "judgment [would come upon us] by reason of gold

Kômsât comments on Alexander's life.

"and silver, and through meat and drink, and "through rich possessions, and through goodly "apparel. But we will make offerings for our "souls, and we will shew compassion on the poor "and needy, and thus will we send on before us "provisions in order that we may go on, and find "them, and rejoice therein when we open our treasures. "For when we give of the things of this world "we find [them] in the next, and whatsoever we "leave in this world belongeth not to us, [p. 351] "but is divided among our kinsfolk. O my brethren, "let us now give of the things which are of this "world as offerings for our souls whilst we have "power over our possessions. Thou didst speak "to us and didst rebuke us, and didst admonish "us, and didst thyself do as thou didst tell us [to "do]; for thou hast opened the treasures of thy "house to the needy, and thou hast neither kept "in mind nor wished for the love of children, or "wife, or kinsfolk, because of thy love for thy God. "And, moreover, for us, the children of the sons "of men, it would have been better had we never "been created, for we go from nothing into nothing, "even if it be actually as thou hast told me this "day that the dead shall rise in the spirit of life, "whether they be righteous or whether they be "sinners. Thou sayest that they shall not die a "second time, and that sinners only shall suffer "torment in Sheol, and that they shall not die a "second time, but I say that it would be better "for them to perish at once rather than to dwell

Kômsât's despair.

"through the spirit of life in the punishment of "infernal torment. And what meanest thou by "thy words 'spirit of life,' and 'sinners shall not "have life but the judgment of everlasting punish-"ment?'"

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Alexander reproaches Kômsât.

Then Alexander the king, being filled with the Holy Spirit, answered and said unto Kômsât his friend, "Tell me why thou didst not thus con-"tradict me when my body was alive, and why "thou hast become obstinate and unbelieving, and "why thou makest enquiries unbelievingly, and "why thou proclaimest that which thou canst not "do?" [p. 352] And Kômsât answered and said, "Master, scorn not to answer the question which "I have asked of thee, for to enquire after wisdom "is better than all the treasures of gold and of "silver." Alexander the king answered and said unto him, "Of a truth wisdom is better, for it is "profitable to those who preserve it both in heaven "and upon earth. Now as concerning [the words] "'Spirit of life,' and 'judgment of everlasting punish-"ment,' [they mean] even what I have before told "thee that they mean; but now I will tell thee again, "and let that which I shall say unto thee enter "into thy heart. All the dead shall rise, both "the righteous and sinners, with the spirit of life "which cannot die a second time; but the sinners "shall go to the judgment of everlasting punish-"ment, and the righteous shall enter into the

Alexander once again explains the resurrection.

"Paradise of unspeakable joy, and their days "shall never end, and their joy shall never fail. "Sinners shall [endure] everlasting sorrow and "unquenchable fire, because they continued in all "the lusts of their bodies, and because they did "not walk in the desire of their souls, and for "this reason they shall be punished exceedingly; "but the righteous put away the lust of their bodies "and walked in the desire of their souls, and there-"fore they shall rejoice and be glad for ever and "for ever. And now, I have much which I could "tell thee, but my body faileth and becometh weak, "and the hour of my death hath drawn nigh and "hath come; keep thyself [all] the days of thy "life, and fail not in repentance, and make fair "thy place of habitation so that thy light may "not pass away without repentance."

Death of Alexander.

Then Alexander cried out and said, "O my "Lord, my refuge and my place of habitation, "receive my soul in peace." And a sound like unto thunder was heard, saying, "Come in peace "into [p. 353] the kingdom of heaven." And a spiritual hand, which shone with light mightier than the light of the sun, appeared, and his soul went forth and took its rest in glory. To God Almighty be praise, and may His compassion and mercy be upon us for ever and for ever, Amen.

Here endeth the History of Alexander the king. May his prayer and his blessing be with his beloved for ever and for ever! Amen.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

BLESSED MEN WHO LIVED IN THE DAYS OF JEREMIAH THE PROPHET.

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST, ONE GOD.

Hearken, O brethren, and we will relate to you a new history, that is to say, we will tell you the story of the holy, righteous, and blessed men who lived in the days of Jeremiah the Prophet, the son of Hilkiah.[1] Now there reigned [at that time] a king whose name was Zedekiah,[2] the son of Josiah, and he walked not in the way of his father, but made a graven image of an idol for himself, and he bowed down before it in secret; then he spake openly, saying, "I am the son of "David, of the house of Judah"; and this thing was heard in Jerusalem and in all the borders thereof. And it came to pass that when the holy men who were in Jerusalem heard these words,

Zedekiah the wicked king.

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[1] See Jeremiah i. 1.

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 19; 1 Chronicles iii. 15.

their hearts were sorry with a great sorrow, and they went and told Saint Jeremiah the Prophet. Now when Jeremiah heard this thing he was very sorry and was greatly grieved, and he stood up before God Almighty and wept, saying, "O Lord "God of my fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "shall all these things be done in the days of me "Thy sinful servant?" And God Almighty made answer unto Jeremiah, saying, "Fear not, O My "[p. 356] servant Jeremiah, for I have loved and "I have chosen thee from thy mother's womb [to "be My servant]. Go thou to Zedekiah and rebuke "him." So Jeremiah rose up and went with his two disciples Baruch and Hormizd, and when he had come to Jerusalem he went into the king's presence. And Jeremiah answered and said unto him, "Thus saith God Almighty, Is it indeed true "that thou doest these things before Me?—Now "I am of the house of Judah, the lion's whelp[2]—And "wilt thou take strange gods and worship them, "and forsake Me?" And it came to pass that when Zedekiah heard these words he became exceedingly angry with Jeremiah, and he ordered them to cast him into a stinking pit.[1] Then Abimelech the king's disciple went to Jeremiah and took with him food for him to eat, and comforted him. And Jeremiah answered and said unto Abimelech, "Fear not, O my son, for thou art a fearer "of God Almighty, and thou shalt not see the

Jeremiah is sent to rebuke him.

Zedekiah's wrath.

Jeremiah is cast into a pit.

[1] Jeremiah xxxviii. 6. [2] Compare Genesis xlix. 9.

"chastisement and wrath which shall come upon "the king and upon the people of Israel;" and Abimelech received his prayer and his blessing and went his way. And Jeremiah abode three days and three nights in the pit, and after those days God Almighty sent an angel and brought him out therefrom, and he stood before God Almighty. And God Almighty answered and said unto him, "Fear not, O My servant Jeremiah, but "do thou that which I shall command thee. Go "to the Temple of Zion, and enter in to the Ark "of My covenant, and bring forth therefrom the "things which Moses and Aaron placed threrein;"[1] and he did as God Almighty commanded him. And he said, "Where shall I lay these things, O "my Lord?" And God Almighty answered and said unto him, "Go to the Mount of Olives, but "do not ascend it, and make thy way towards "[p. 357] the right of the mountain, and there "shalt thou find a cave." And Jeremiah did so, and he found a cave there, and he laid those things therein, and he prayed before God Almighty, saying, "May Thy Will be done;" and God Almighty commanded one of His angels to go down and seal the cave.

He is rescued.

Jeremiah removes the sacred objects from the ark.

Then God Almighty answered and said unto Jeremiah, "Go into Jerusalem and bring out there-

The saints brought out from Jerusalem.

[1] *I. e.*, the Tables of the Law, a pot of manna, and Aaron's rod; see Exodus xvii. 33; Numbers xvii. 10; and Hebrews ix. 4.

"from the men who fear Me, and those who keep "My law, and those who walk in My command-"ments, and bring them all outside the city, to-"gether with their wives and children." And again He spake unto Jeremiah, saying, "Bring out all "thy kinsfolk, together with their wives and children, "and make them to mingle with these people;" and Jeremiah brought out all his kinsfolk and his people, together with their wives and children, and he made them to mingle with those people. Then he stood up and prayed before God Almighty, and said, "O my Lord, I beseech and entreat thee that "this people may not see the destruction of Jeru-"salem." And God Almighty said, "Let them leave "behind them their clothing and all the garments "which they have on them," and He commanded the angels to carry them away; and the angels descended to the people and they carried them, and took them along, and brought them to a certain Island in the sea, wherein was the mountain in which there is neither pain, nor sorrow, nor fatigue, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor cold, nor fiery heat, nor theft, nor plunder, nor oppression, nor injustice, nor cursing, nor lying, nor fornication, nor tumult, nor enmity, nor hatred, nor pride, nor boasting, nor vaunting, but there is love and peace between every man and his fellow. And that Island is filled with joy, and gladness, and blessing, and salvation, [p. 358] and peace. And they dwelt in that Island singing psalms and praises to the Name of God Almighty, and they placed their confidence

The saints carried to the Island of the Blessed.

in Him both by day and by night, and they all cried out with one voice, saying, "Blessed be Thy "Name, O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "Who hath delivered us from the destruction and "from the captivity which Thou hast brought upon "Thy people Israel." And after these things God revealed to them and shewed them everything which He had brought upon the people of Israel, the chastisement, and the sickness, and the affliction which came upon them in the train of hunger and thirst.

Darius sends the Jews back to Jerusalem.

And it came to pass that after seventy years king Darius brought them out from the land of Babylon, and he sent them away to return to their own country, and he said unto them, "Be ye sub-"ject unto me." Then came Alexander to the land of Babylon, and there was war between Darius [and him], and Darius perished in the war, and Alexander became king over the whole land of Babylon; and he went to Jerusalem and became king in all the borders thereof. And he gathered together the priests of Israel and their chief people, and he answered and said unto them, "Give me "the scarlet cloak;" and they said unto him, "We "cannot give it unto thee." And Alexander said to them, "Why can ye not give it unto me?" And they said unto him, "Thou art of the men of "Greece, and it befitteth thee not to put on the "raiment of the kings of Judah." And Alexander said unto them, "Am not I king in all the earth? "and shall it be unseemly for me to put it on?"

Alexander conquers Darius and arrives in Jerusalem.

The scarlet cloak.

Priests slain.

And Alexander was exceedingly wroth with the priests, and he slew them.

And it came to pass that one of the priests escaped and came and stood up in the enclosure of the Sanctuary, and he smote the threshold with his foot three times, and said, "O Zechariah, "Zechariah, art thou not satisfied? Behold, all "those who slew thee are slain." Now formerly Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, had prophesied concerning [p. 359] the coming of our Lord, saying, "Rejoice, O daughter of Zion, and be glad, O "daughter of Jerusalem, for behold thy King cometh, "righteous and lowly, and riding upon an ass, and "upon the colt of an ass,"[1] and for this reason they slew him upon the threshold of the Temple. And God Almighty commanded the threshold, and it was rent asunder, and it swallowed up Zechariah the Prophet, and his blood oozed forth from the threshold until the coming of Alexander the king.

Prophecy of Zechariah.

Alexander wears the scarlet cloak.

And it came to pass that after Alexander the king had slain the priests he took the scarlet cloak and wore it for three days, but afterwards he took it off him and folded it up, and said, "O God, my "God, let Thy Will be done in the matter of this "cloak;" and he laid it down. Then Alexander set out and came to the Country of the Blessed, and he passed over to them and made enquiries of them how they had come thither and what manner of life they led in that country. And he

He goes to the Island of the Blessed.

[1] Zechariah ix. 9.

answered and said unto them, "What excuse had "ye for coming to this land?" And they said unto him, "We are of the people of Israel, and we "belong to the tribes of Levi and Judah, and are "kinsmen of Jeremiah the Prophet. And because "of the evil which Zedekiah wrought before God "Almighty we and our father Jeremiah became "jealous for God Almighty, and wept sorely, and "therefore Saint Jeremiah prayed and entreated "Him for us, that He would protect us from "the wrath and chastisement which He would bring "upon the king and upon the people of Israel. "And God Almighty received and heard his prayer "and entreaty, and He brought us into this land." And Alexander answered and said unto them, "What food do ye eat? What work do ye do? "And how is your race carried on?" And they answered and said unto him, "Come and thou "shalt see [p. 360] what we live upon." Then he went with them and they arrived at a place where there were trees laden with fruit, and he saw their women sitting down by the side of the trees. And they said unto him, "We live upon the juice of "this fruit." And Alexander answered and said, "Blessed be the name of God Almighty Who hath "delivered you from the lust of this fleeting world, "and Who hath set you in the beautiful and blessed "land." And Alexander received their prayers and blessings, and departed from them.

Alexander and the saints converse.

And it came to pass that after our Lord had ascended into heaven, the Apostles preached the

The Gospel preached in all the world.

Gospel in all the earth, and many of the heathen were baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and churches were built in all the earth, and monks increased in every country. Now there was a certain monk called Gerâsîmâs[1] who lived in a cave beyond the Jordan, and he took the Book of King Alexander and read therein, and came to the story of those blessed saints. And he meditated in his heart and said, "O my Lord Jesus Christ, I beseech "and entreat Thee to bring me to them, and to "shew me the faces of those blessed saints who "are Thy servants. As Thou didst shew to Jacob "the face of his son Joseph in the land of Egypt, "and he rejoiced thereat, even so do Thou shew "me the faces of those blessed saints that I also "may rejoice thereat, and may receive their prayer "and their blessing." And he continued to pray and to entreat God Almighty for this thing for forty days and forty nights, and He accepted the prayer and entreaty of Abbâ Gerâsîmâs, and sent unto him an angel from heaven who said unto him, "Set out on this journey. Turn neither to "this side nor to that, but go straight on." And Abbâ Gerâsîmâs marched on [p. 361] for seven weeks, and his food was of the green herb of the desert, and he became aweary by reason of

Gerâsîmâs the monk reads the Travels of Alexander.

He prays for permission to visit the Island of the Blessed.

He sets out.

[1] *I. e.*, Gerasimus of Lydia, who died about A. D. 475. He founded a monastery near the Jordan wherein seventy monks dwelt under a very strict rule.

journeying on the way, and he cried out before God Almighty, saying, "Turn not away Thy face "from Thy servant, but continue Thy protection "to him even unto the end;" and God Almighty heard his prayer and received his entreaty, and sent to him a huge lion. And it came to pass that when he turned round he saw the lion[1] coming towards him, and he answered and said, "O terrible monster, hast thou come to slay me?" And the angel of God Almighty came down, and spake unto him, saying, "Fear not, O Gerâsîmâs, "but mount upon him, for God Almighty hath sent "him unto thee that thou mayest be able to finish "the journey which thou hast wished to make." So Gerâsîmâs seated himself upon the back of the lion, and he went on his way and arrived at the shore of a sea, and he descended from the lion and blessed him, and said unto him, "Depart "in peace," and the lion left him.

A lion comes to him.

And brings him to a sea.

Then Gerâsîmâs lifted up his eyes to heaven and prayed, saying, "How shall I pass over this "sea [seeing] that I have no ship?" And when he had finished saying these words he saw that a tree bent down its top towards him, and he took hold of the branches with his hands and it lifted him up to its own height, and similarly the next tree which was in the sea bent over its top towards him, and he took hold of its branches

The trees carry him to the Island.

[1] See Νέος παράδεισος of John Moschus (died A. D. 620) cap. 107.

with his hand, and it received him and carried him over and then bending down its top deposited Gerâsîmâs on the Island. Then he arose and marched on, and came to the people thereof. And it came to pass that when they saw him coming towards them they rose up and went to meet him, and they sat down with him that they might ask him questions. And they said unto him, "Father, "whence comest thou? What manner of life hast "thou led? With whom hast thou passed over "here? Where is thy country? And what is thy "condition?" And the saint answered and said unto them, "I belong to the country of Greece, "I sprang from the house of my father, and am "of no account. I came into [p. 362] Jerusalem, "and I went round about among the holy places. "I came to the Jordan and was baptized at the "place where Christ was baptized. I crossed over "the Jordan and came to a certain place called "the House of John, wherein dwelt fifty and nine "monks, and I entered therein and was blessed "by them. I saw their mode of life, and their "fastings, and their prayers, and their vigils, and "I stretched out my hands and lifted up my eyes "to God Almighty, and I said, 'O Lord, grant "that I may walk in Thy commandments. And as "David saith, Forget thy nation and thy father's "house,[1] so likewise have I forsaken my nation "and my father's house, and I have driven out

Gerâsimâs and the Blessed converse.

The narrative of Gerásimás.

[1] Psalm xlv. 10.

"from myself the lust of this fleeting world. And "I entreat Thee, O Lord, and I beseech Thee "to give me strength, and might, and patient "endurance, that I may be able to dwell with these "monks and to wear their holy garb, and that I "may end my life according to Thy Will.' And "hear ye this, O all ye saints, God Almighty "granted unto me that which I asked of Him, "and I dwelt in that place for six and forty years. "And I wore their garb and I joined with them "in fasting, and prayer, and in vigils by night "and by day, in love, and in charity, and in safety, "and in peace, and in orthodoxy, and there was "neither enmity, nor rebellion, nor pride among "us, but [we dwelt] together in love and good "fellowship."

The narrative of Gerâsîmâs.

And they answered and said unto him, "What "hath brought thee to us? Who told thee our "mystery? And who revealed to thee concerning "us?" And Gerâsîmâs answered and said unto them, "A certain holy monk, my syncellus, brought "unto me the 'Book of King Alexander,' and I "read it, and I heard the story of you therefrom. "Then I left the book and gave it [p. 363] to "[another] monk, and I rose up, and prayed, and "made entreaty unto God for forty days and forty "nights. And hearken, O saints, God Almighty "sent His angel unto me from heaven, and he "guided me, and revealed to me the path whereby "I have come unto you. And he said unto me, "'Go in this path,' and I marched on for many

"days, and after a while I became exhausted and "fell down on the road. And I lifted up my eyes "to heaven and I said, 'Fulfil for me, Thy servant, "that which I have asked of Thee;' and God "Almighty sent unto me a huge lion. And when "the lion drew nigh unto me I was afraid of "him, and an angel came down from heaven and "said unto me, 'Fear not, O Geràsîmâs, for God "Almighty hath sent him unto thee to bear thee "along.' Then I sat myself upon his back, and I "arrived at the shore of a sea."

The narrative of Gerâsîmâs.

Then the people spake unto Gerâsîmâs, saying, "Who brought thee over to us?" And he answered and said unto them, "Two trees that were in the "sea carried me over and brought me unto you "by the Will of God Almighty." And they answered and said unto him, "God Almighty will "never bring any other man over to us after "thyself. O saint of God Almighty, according as "thou didst seek and according to thy longing "even so hast thou found, for thou hast arrived "in our country." And they answered and said unto him, "Tell us the history of thy country and "of the believing kings." And he spake unto them, saying, "Hearken, O blessed saints. When "the Apostles had preached the Gospel of true

Spread of Christianity.

"faith in all the earth, churches, and archbishops, "and bishops, and priests, and deacons, and subdeacons, and readers, and psalmists, and monks, and believing virgins, and women devoted to the ascetic life "came into being, and some of these became solitary

"dwellers in holes and caves, and some dwelt as "coenobites [p. 364], who watched with fasting and "with prayer, and they made supplication on be-"half of [their] own nation and on behalf of the "heathen. And some dwelt on the tops of the "mountains, saying, 'Jesus Christ was crucified for "us, and we will crucify ourselves for His sake, "and for love of Him.' And some dwelt among "the heathen and worked salvation [for them], and "taught [them] peace, and love, and charity, and "the true faith, and they lived upon their own "food, and they would not take anything [for their "use] that was not their own."

The narrative of the Blessed.

And the people answered and said to Gerâsîmâs, "Thou hast related to us an excellent story, O saint "of God Almighty, and we will relate to thee also "the manner of our life in this country. Now God "Almighty brought us out and delivered us from "the pollution, and apostasy, and worship of the "children of Israel, and He set us in [this] Island. "And He hath clothed us and our wives with "heavenly apparel, and our food we take from "these trees, and our drink is from this stream. "Our wives live apart from one year to the other; "we have no union with them except at a stated "time, and they never see our faces." And Gerâsîmâs said unto them, "Know ye how to reckon "a fast?" And they said unto him, "God Al-"mighty hath commanded us to fast for forty days "and forty nights." And Gerâsîmâs said unto them, "How do ye know the time for fasting?" And

The life led by the Blessed.

they answered and said unto him, "When the time "hath drawn nigh and come for fasting the trees "dry up, and the stream disappears until the time "of fasting is over; and we all, together with "our children and wives, fast, and when the fast "is over, the heavenly angels bring to us the "mysteries of the Body and Blood of our Lord "and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the trees bring "forth fruit for us and the stream bubbles forth "again, and we eat and drink in this manner from "year to [p. 365] year. None of us perishes, and "none of us comes to an end."

A land without pain.

And Saint Gerâsîmâs answered and said unto them, "Have ye neither bodily sickness nor pain of "mind?" And they answered and said unto him, "Pain, and sorrow, and grief we know not; only "death we know." And Gerâsîmâs answered and said unto them, "How can death come without "pain and sickness?" And they said unto him, "When the time of death hath come to any one "of us, that man crieth out and saith to us, 'Behold, "God Almighty hath called me, go ye and make "ready for me my habitation;' and we go, and "dig, and make ready for him his habitation.

The burial of the dead.

"Then we come to him, and he lifteth himself up "and goeth with us, and we bear him along with "praises, and with prayer, and with Hallelujahs, "and we bring him to the grave; and we kiss "him and salute him, and he goeth down into the "grave on his own feet, and falleth asleep. And "an angel of God Almighty goeth down to receive

"his soul, and straightway he taketh that soul and "carrieth it up into heaven; and we watch the "soul until it disappeareth and then we lay dust "upon his dust. And thus do we do in the matter "of our wives also—now no child dieth before "he hath grown up—and then we return to our "houses without sorrow and without weeping."

Prophecies concerning Christ by Jeremiah.

And Saint Gerâsîmâs answered and said unto them, "God Almighty hath given unto you a "spiritual mystery; how have ye learnt to know "our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?" And they said unto him, "We know [Him] by reason of "what our father Jeremiah spake unto us, saying, "'Behold, a Saviour of the world shall come, and "ye shall see Him with your eyes;' and this which "we heard from our father Jeremiah we believed "before our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ came. "And we saw Him with our eyes, and the Prophets "prophesied concerning His coming. And Moses "said unto the children of Israel, [p. 366] 'Behold "God Almighty shall raise up to you from among "your brethren a prophet like unto myself; hearken "ye unto him.'[1] And again Joshua, the son of "Nun, prophesied concerning the coming of the "Saviour of the world when the Amalekites, a "foreign nation, rose up against the children of "Israel.[2] And Moses rose up and stood before "God Almighty, and prayed, saying, 'O Lord God

Moses an Joshua.

[1] Deuteronomy xviii. 15, 18.

[2] Exodus xvii. 8 ff.

"of heaven and of earth, as Thou hast delivered "Thy people from the hand of Pharaoh, even so "do Thou deliver Thy people out of the hand of "this foreign nation.' And God Almighty said "unto Moses, 'Go up into a high hill, and stretch "out thine hands.' Now Joshua, the son of Nun, "was fighting with Amalek, and it came to pass "that when the sun was about to set, Joshua the "son of Nun lifted up Moses' hands, and prayed before "God Almighty, and said, 'Help Thy servant, and "give [him] strength and might, and victory over "this nation.' Then God ordered the sun to stand "[still], and it stood [still],[1] and he made two days "into one by his prayer and he conquered Amalek, "and delivered the children of Israel. And again "Gideon the Judge prayed in his heart concerning "the coming of the Saviour of the world, and "concerning His new law. And he took ram's "wool and laid it on the ground round about, and "he set the wool to represent the coming of our "Lord Jesus Christ, and the ground round about "to represent the children of Israel; and the dew "fell upon the wool while the earth remained dry. "And again he set the wool to represent the children "of Israel while the ground represented the coming "of our Lord Jesus Christ; and then the dew fell "upon the earth and the wool was dry.[2] Thus the "holy man Gideon knew of the advent of our

Gideon and the fleece.

[1] Our author has mixed up two battles here; see Joshua x. 12.

[2] See Judges vi. 37—40.

"Lord Jesus Christ and of His new law which "should be preached in all the ends of the world, "and that the Law of the House of Israel should "be abrogated together with the nation. And "again, Jephthah, the Judge who had been set over "Israel, when foreign nations came against the "children of Israel, rose up and went forth to do "battle with them. And he lifted up his eyes to "heaven, and said, 'O God, the Stay of the whole "world, give me power and might over this foreign "nation, and,' said he, 'if I am victorious and I "come back in peace and safety, should any member "of my household come forth to meet me, he shall "be offered up as a sacrifice before Thee, O God.' "Now when he had vanquished and blotted them "out, and was returning in safety, his virgin daughter "who was his only child went forth to meet him, "and he answered and said unto her, 'O my "daughter, I have made a covenant with God Al-"mighty, and I must offer thee up as a sacrifice "to Him.' And his daughter said unto him, 'O "my father, let me go up into the mountains with "my virgin companions to bewail my virginity;' "so she went up with her virgins into the mountains "and bewailed her virginity. Then she went down "from the mountain, and said to her father, 'Father, "perform the covenant which thou hast made with "God Almighty;' and he took her and he laid hold "upon her with his hand, and thrust a knife in her "body, and slew her, and poured out her blood, and "he said, 'O God, accept this my sacrifice even as

Jephthah and his daughter.

"thou didst accept the sacrifice of our father "Abraham."[1]

And Gerâsîmâs answered and said unto them, "Did ye believe the prophecies of the Prophets "concerning the advent of the Saviour of the "world?" They said unto him, "God Almighty "revealed unto us the captivity, and cry, and "destruction of the children of Israel, and we bow "low before Him Who delivered us from this "punishment, and Who brought [p. 368] us and "placed us in this Island, and He hath hidden "nothing whatsoever from us. We saw Ezekiel "when he was crossing the river Kôbâr,[2] and when "he went up the mountain which was called Kôkab, "and he saw the chariots of the Cherubim and "the Son of God Almighty sitting among them, "and we also saw them with him. And again he "saw a gate in the east[3] which had been sealed "by God Almighty, and he went therein and came "out therefrom; and we saw even as that prophet "saw. And again, Daniel the prophet prophesied "and said, 'I saw a lofty mountain from which was "hewn a stone without hands.'"[4]

Ezekiel.

Daniel.

And Gerâsîmâs answered and said unto them, "God Almighty hath shewn love unto you, and "He hath not hidden from you the prophecies "of the Prophets who prophesied concerning the "coming of the Saviour of the world." And again

[1] Judges chap. xi. [2] Ezekiel i. 1.
[3] Ezekiel xl. 2, 6 ff. [4] Daniel ii. 34.

Gerâsîmâs said unto them, "How did ye come to "know of His advent and of the birth of our "Redeemer?" And they answered and said unto him, "Didst thou never read what God said unto "Adam, 'Fear not, O Adam, after five days[1] and "a half I will come down and deliver thee?' And "Adam said, 'How wilt Thou come down and "deliver me? Wilt Thou leave the chariots of the "Cherubim and the holy place of the Seraphim?' "Then God stretched out His right hand and "shewed him one of His fingers, and He said "unto him, 'This [alone] can deliver thee from thy "sins.' And Adam turned round and saw Jesus "Christ crucified upon the wood of the Cross, and "he said, 'Thy Will be done, O Lord;' and God "hid Himself from him. Now it was after Adam "and Eve had gone forth from Paradise that all "these things took place." And again they spake unto Gerâsîmâs, saying, "We knew that five "thousand five hundred years must be completed "[before the coming of Christ]. And we saw the "Archangel Gabriel descending to Zachariah the "priest,[2] and he related to him concerning the birth "of [p. 369] John, but Zachariah would not believe "the voice of the angel, and Gabriel said unto "him, 'Thou shalt be dumb until all these my "words shall be fulfilled.' And in the sixth month[3]

Adam to be delivered after five and a half days.

The Annunciation by Gabriel.

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[1] *The Book of Adam and Eve* (ed. Malan, p. 4), chap. iii.

[2] St. Luke i. 11.

[3] St. Luke i. 26 ff.

"we saw Gabriel coming down from heaven to "announce [the birth of Christ] to Mary, and he "came to her and bowed down before her and "spake unto her, saying, 'Peace be unto thee, O "thou blessed among women; thy God is with "thee.' And we saw and heard this Annunciation "to Mary. And again we saw Mary going to the "house of Zacharias to salute Elisabeth, and when "she had come and had gone into the house of "Zacharias, she saluted her; now when Elisabeth "heard Mary's voice as she was saluting her, the "babe leaped in her womb. And the Holy Spirit "came upon Elisabeth and she cried out and said, "'What am I that the mother of my Lord should "come to me? When I heard thy voice saluting "me the babe leaped in my womb through glad-"ness;' and she dwelt with her for a space of "three months. And it came to pass that the "month wherein Elisabeth should be delivered "drew nigh, and when the child wished to go "forth from the womb of his mother, he was afraid "and went back into the place of his abode. Then "Elisabeth cried out with a loud voice, saying, "'Rise up, and go forth, O mother of my Lord, "for the little lamb is afraid to go forth from his "place of abode because he feareth the lion's cub;' "so Mary rose up and went forth from her, and "Elisabeth gave birth unto her child."

Elisabeth and Mary.

The birth of John.

And the men of the Island said unto Gerâsîmâs, "Hast thou heard all these things, O father, which "have been revealed to us and which we have

"seen and heard?" And Gerâsîmâs said unto them, "How did ye know and see the birth of the "Saviour of the world?" And they said unto him, "We saw Mary go forth from Nazareth to Beth-"lehem,[1] and Joseph was with her, and he saw "[p. 370] that her face was changed, and he said "unto her, 'What hath happened unto thee?' and "she said, 'The pains of childbirth have got hold "'upon me.' And Joseph left her in a forest in "the land of Êphrâthâ, and went to prepare a place "of abode for the child and its mother; and Mary "wept because Joseph had left her by herself. Now "there were shepherds dwelling in that country, "and they heard the noise of Mary's weeping, and "they came to her and said unto her, 'O woman, "'whence comest thou?' and she said unto them, "'From Nazareth.' And while they were talking "Joseph came and took Mary with him, and they "arrived at a certain cave and went therein. And "it came to pass when it was midnight that the "angel Gabriel went down to them, and taking "hold of Joseph's hand he brought him out from "the cave; and he spread out his wings[2] and "overshadowed Mary, and she gave birth to her "firstborn child, and she wrapped him in swaddling "bands and laid him in a manger. All this did "we see. And again we saw Gabriel and his hosts "announcing [these things] to the shepherds, and "saying, 'Behold, there is born to you this day a

Joseph and Mary leave Nazareth.

The birth of Christ.

[1] St. Luke ii. 4, 5. [2] Read ክንፊሁ ፡

The shepherds and the angels.

"'Lord and a Saviour,'[1] and the shepherds saw "with the angel multitudes of the heavenly hosts "singing praises, and saying, 'Glory to God Al- "'mighty in the highest, and peace upon earth to "'the children of men of good will.' Now when "the angels had gone up into heaven, the shepherds "spake among themselves, saying, 'Come, let us "'see if this thing which God Almighty hath made "'known unto us is true.' And they went on and "arrived at the cave, and they went in and found "Mary and Joseph, and the Child lying in a manger, "and the shepherds said, 'This is the woman whom "'we heard in Êphrâthâ and we found her in a "'wild forest;' and they returned to their own "country, O holy father. And again we saw "Magians come from the [p. 371] East and the "star which led them and brought them to Jeru-

The Magi and Herod.

"salem. When Herod heard thereof he was troubled, "and all Jerusalem with him,[2] and he called the "Magians and enquired of them diligently when "they had seen the star. And he said unto them, "'Go ye and look for the Child, and when ye "'have found Him come and tell me, that I also "'may come and worship Him;' and they went "and arrived at the house. And they went in "and saw the Child, and Mary, and Joseph, and "they worshipped Him, and they opened out their "treasures, and they presented their gifts unto "Him, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense; and

[1] St. Luke ii. 10, 11. [2] St. Matthew ii. 3.

"the angel of God Almighty appeared unto them "in a dream, and said unto them, 'Do not return "'unto Herod, but depart unto your own country "'by another way.'"

And the blessed men spake unto Abbâ Gerâsîmâs, saying, "O holy father, all these things we "have seen and known. And again, we saw Herod "slaying the children and mingling their blood with "their mother's milk, and we have heard that Jere-"miah[1] spake, 'A voice was heard in Râmâ, Rachel "'weeping for her children.' And again we saw "our Lord Jesus Christ going down into the land "of Egypt, and when He arrived there, their idols "and graven images fell down upon the ground, "and were dashed in pieces;[2] and He sanctified "that country. And again, we saw an angel go "down from heaven and say unto Joseph, 'Rise up, "'and take the young Child and His mother, and "'return to the land of Israel, for those who sought "'His life are dead;' and Joseph took the Child "and His mother, and returned to the land of "Israel. And he heard that Herod was dead and "that his son Archelaus reigned in his room, and "Joseph was afraid to go on, and he tarried and "went to Nazareth and dwelt there, even as the "[p. 372] prophet saith, 'He shall be called a "'Nazarene.'"

The slaughter of the innocents.

Joseph goes to Nazareth.

And the holy men said unto Gerâsîmâs, "O

[1] Jeremiah xxxi. 15. [2] *Gospel of the Infancy*, iv. 6—13.
[3] St. Matthew ii. 23.

"father, all these things we have heard and seen. "And we have seen, moreover, that forty winters "were completed on Him, and we saw His descent "into the Jordan[1] to be baptized by John the son "of Zacharias. Now when our Lord came into the "Jordan He cried out to John and said unto him, "'Draw nigh and baptize Me,' but John answered "and said unto Him, 'I wish to be baptized by "'Thee, and comest Thou to me? Thou art celestial "'whilst I am terrestrial; Thou art the Creator, whilst "'I am that which was created.' Then Jesus Christ "answered and said unto him, 'Draw nigh, and "'baptize Me, and lay thy hand upon My head; "'let us this once perfect all righteousness.' And "they two went down into the Jordan, and John "baptized Him; and as He was going up out of "the water the heavens were opened, and the "Spirit came down, and behold a voice [came] "from heaven which said, 'This is My beloved Son, "'in Whom I am well pleased.' All these things "did we hear and see, O father Gerâsîmâs."

Christ baptized by John.

"And again, we saw when He went out and "was tempted by the Devil, and how He fasted "forty days and forty nights.[2] And when the fast "was ended He went to Cana of Galilee—for they "had invited Him, and His mother, and His "brethren—and He turned water into wine, and "His disciples believed on Him; all these things "we have heard and seen, O holy father. And

He is tempted of the Devil.

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[1] St. Matthew iii. 16. [2] St. Matthew iv. 1—11.

"again we saw how He chose twelve disciples, "and how He went round about all the country "of Judea together with His disciples, and how "He cleansed the lepers, and opened the eyes of "the blind, and healed the sick, and raised the "dead to life, and restored those who were sick "of the palsy, and cast out devils. And again, "we heard Him when He cried to Lazarus and "raised him up from the dead. And again, we "saw Him when He went up into the Mount of "Olives, and we heard Him when He ordered "[His disciples] [p. 373], saying, 'Go ye to the city "'which is before you, and ye shall find a she-ass "'tied there, together with her foal; bring her unto "'Me.' And they did as He ordered them, and "they laid down their garments, and Jesus Christ "mounted the ass, and the children cried out, "saying, 'Hosanna in the Highest, Hosanna to the "'Son of David; blessed is He that cometh in the "'Name of God Almighty.' All this we have heard "and seen, O holy father Gerâsîmâs."

The miracles of Christ.

"And again, we saw Him when He came into "the hall of judgment to be judged by the Jews, "who were gathered together, having taken counsel "among themselves concerning Him—now Judas "Iscariot was among them, and he had said unto "them, 'What will ye give me if I deliver Him "'unto you?' And they agreed to give him thirty "pieces of silver, whereupon Judas Iscariot wished "to find an occasion to lay hold upon Him."

The betrayal of Christ.

And the blessed men said unto father Gerâsîmâs,

"O father, nothing whatsoever was hidden from us. "And again, we saw Him upon the Cross, and we "heard His voice crying, 'Êlôhê, Êlôhê, My God, "'My God, why hath He forsaken Me?' And we "saw the sun become dark—now a great darkness "came upon the earth—and we bowed down, and "wept, and said, 'May Thy Name be blessed, O "'God, Who hast made us to dwell in this land "'and not to be mingled with the Jews.' And again, "we heard His voice crying out, 'I am athirst,' and "again we heard Him cry, 'Father, into Thy hand "'I commit My Spirit.' And again, we saw that "He made to come forth all the spirits that were "in prison from Abel until the time of the Cruci- "fixion of our Lord Jesus Christ. And again, we "saw Michael and Gabriel go down into the tomb "and announce to the women, saying, 'Go ye and "'tell His disciples that He our Lord hath risen "'from the dead;' and they went and told His "disciples [p. 374] that our Lord had risen from "the dead. Now when they had heard these words, "Peter and John went and came into the tomb, "and they saw the napkin lying [there], and they "returned to their brethren, and told them all that "they had seen."

The Crucifixion.

The Resurrection.

And the blessed men said, "And again, we saw "how He came to His disciples, the door being "closed, and stood among them, and how He said "unto them, 'Peace be upon you, I am He; fear ye "'not, neither be dismayed.' But they were afraid "and imagined that they had seen a spirit. And

"He said to them, 'What is it that terrifieth you? "'What is it that causeth you to be dismayed? "'What thought is this which hath risen up in your "'hearts? Look at My hands and My feet, and "'see that I am indeed Jesus.' And thus saying He "shewed them His hands and His feet, and said, "'Have ye anything here which we may eat?' And "they gave Him a broiled split fish and some "honeycomb, and our Lord ate before them, and "took that which was left and gave [it] unto them. "All these things did we see and hear. And again, "we saw His ascent into heaven, and the angels "received Him with hymns of praise and cries of "'Holy, Holy, Holy'. And as the angels spake thus "they looked upon His hands, and His feet, and "His side, and they said unto Him, 'O Lord, where "'hast Thou gotten these wounds?' And He said "unto them, 'In the house of Israel, My friend;' and "we heard the angels cursing the house of Israel. "And when we heard this we wept and praised "God Almighty, saying, 'We ascribe blessing unto "'Thy name, O God, in that Thou hast chosen "'us and hast made us to dwell in this Island, and "'hast not mingled us with the crucifiers.'"

He appears to the Disciples.

"And again, O father Gerâsîmâs, we saw the "Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, descend upon the "Apostles in the citadel of Zion, in the form of "a tongue of fire, and we saw and heard their "voices as they saluted [p. 375] each other, and "again we saw them going forth to preach in all "the world, even as David spake, saying, 'Their

The descent of the Holy Ghost.

"'word hath gone forth into all the earth, and "'their speech hath come unto the ends thereof.'"

And father Gerâsîmâs said unto them, "Have "ye indeed seen and heard all these things?" and the blessed answered and said unto him, "We "have heard and seen all these things. And again, "we have seen our Lord going about in all the "country of Judea, and how He went up into "Mount Tabor with Peter, and James and John "his brother, and we saw Moses and Elias come "to Him, and we heard them talking with Him. "And we heard Peter say unto Jesus, 'Rabbi, it "'would be good for us to dwell here. Let us make "'three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, "'and one for Elias;' but they did not know what "they said, for they were terrified. And a cloud "came and overshadowed them, and a voice came "forth from the cloud saying, 'This is My beloved "'Son; hear ye Him.' And again, God Almighty "permitted us to see all the spirits which came "forth from the four ends of the world; all these "did God Almighty shew unto us, whether they "were righteous or whether they were sinners. All "these things we have seen, even to the second "coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in "glory to judge both the quick and the dead; all "these things have we seen, O father Gerâsîmâs."

The Transfiguration.

And it came to pass that when the time of sunset was nigh the blessed said unto Gerâsîmâs, "Go in peace to thy dwelling," and he went there. And in the morning he said unto the master of

Gerâsimâs wishes to remain on the Island.

the house, "If the blessed come to seek me, say "unto them, 'Gerâsîmâs is not here with me.'" Now when that man heard this he went outside the building and cried out, saying, "Come ye, and "hearken, O my brethren, unto this man whom "ye brought [p. 376] unto me; behold, he would "lead me into the uttering of lies." And the blessed came and said unto Gerâsîmâs, "O father, "thou canst not dwell with us, therefore depart. "Go back to thine own country in the peace of "God Almighty, and recount [there] everything "which thou hast seen and heard with us;" so he received their prayer and blessing, and returned to his own country in peace.

He is dismissed by the Blessed.

And when he came to the shore of the sea he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "I pray and "beseech Thee, O God, to carry me over to my "own country in peace, even as Thou didst bring "me over to these saints." And it came to pass that when he had finished his prayer God Almighty ordered one of the two trees and it inclined its top towards Gerâsîmâs, who seized its branches, and was lifted up thereby, and the other tree bowed its top [to him, and he seized its branches] and it carried him over to the opposite shore. Thus Gerâsîmâs came to his own country in peace, and he wrote down [the account of] the conflicts of the blessed, and placed it in the Church of John the Baptist. Praise be unto the Father Who chose those holy and blessed men; and homage be to the Son Who revealed to them

He returns to his country.

History of his travels.

His holy mysteries; and thanks be unto the Holy Spirit Who purified them from the pollution of this fleeting world by His mercy—One God, to Whom be praise, and homage, and thanks; may their prayer and blessing be with us for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX.

I.

DANIEL, CHAP. VIII.

[p. 377] 1. In the third year of the reign of Baltâsôr the king, a vision appeared unto me, to me Daniel, after that which appeared to me at the first. 2. I was in Susa the palace which is opposite Elam, and I was on [the river] Ubal. 3. And I lifted up mine eyes, and saw a ram, and he stood by the Ubal, and his horns were long, and one was longer than the other, and it grew longer after it had sprouted. 4. And I saw the ram butting with his horns westward, and northward, and southward; and no beast could stand before him, and there was none which could deliver out of his hand, and he did according to his will, and became great. 5. And I Daniel was in Susa the palace, and I was meditating when a he-goat came from the south over the whole face of the earth, and he touched not the earth, and the goat had a horn between his two horns. 6. And he went to the ram which had the horns, and which I had seen standing by the Ubal, and he ran at him with violence. 7. And I saw him come up with him, and he was furious against him, and he cast down the ram, [p. 378] and his

two horns were broken to pieces, and there was no strength in the ram to stand before him, but he threw him on the ground, and trampled upon him, and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. 8. And the he-goat was exceedingly furious, and when he was fighting he broke his horn, and four other horns rose up in its place towards the four winds of heaven. 9. And out of one of them there sprouted a horn which became very great and strong towards the south-east with mighty hosts even against the hosts of heaven, 10. and there fell upon the earth some of the host of heaven, and some of the stars of heaven, and it trampled upon them. 11. [And this shall be] until the satrap shall have delivered the captivity; only the sacrifice was disturbed, and he obtained power and destroyed the sanctuary. 12. And a sacrifice was offered because of the sin, and righteousness was cast down into the ground; and it wrought and obtained dominion. 13. And I heard an angel speaking and saying unto a certain other saint, 'How long shall the vision continue, even the sacrifice which hath been abolished, and the sin of destruction which hath been wrought, and the sanctuary and the host which have been trampled under foot? 14. And he said unto him, Until evening and morning for twenty and three days, and then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. 15. And it came to pass that when I Daniel had seen the vision, and was seeking [to understand] it, that there came and stood before

me the appearance as it were of a man. 16. And I heard the voice of a man on the Ubal, and he cried unto Gabriel, and said, "Gabriel, make this "man to understand the vision." 17. And he came and stood by my side and close to where I stood, and when he came I was terrified; and he said unto me, "Thou must understand, O son of the "children of men, that as yet no appointed time "hath been set for the vision." 18. Now when he spake unto me I was terrified, and I fell down on my face to the earth, but he took hold of me and set me up on my feet. 19. And he said unto me, [p. 379] "Behold, I will tell thee the things "which shall come to pass at the end of the punish- "ments, for the appointed time is not yet determined "20. The ram which thou sawest with horns is the "king of Persia and Media, 21. And the he-goat "is the king of the Greeks, and the horn which "was between his eyes, and which grew great, is "the first king. 22. And as for its being broken "and four other horns rising up in its place, these "are four kings who shall rise up, but not in their "own strength. 23. And at the latter time of their "kingdom, when their sins are coming to the full,[1] "there shall arise a king with an unshamed face, "and his like shall not be known. 24. And his "power shall be great, and he shall make difficult "things to perish, and he shall make righteousness "to flourish and to prevail, and he shall blot out

[1] Read ትትፌጸም ፡

"the mighty men and the saints among the people. "25. And he will make straight the yoke of the "neck, and there shall be craft in his hand, and "he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by craft "he shall destroy many: and do thou seal this "vision for many days." 27. Then I Daniel became sick, and I lay abed for forty days, then I rose up and did the king's business, and I wondered at my vision, but there was none who understood it.

II.

I. MACCABEES I. 1—6.

And it came to pass that after Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, who was the first to reign in Greece, having come forth from Ketên[1] had slain Darius, the king of the Medes and Persians, he made many wars, and captured strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth. And he went through to the ends of the earth, and he took spoils of many nations, and the earth was quiet before him. And he gathered together hosts and mighty armies, and his heart was exalted; and he captured the countries of the Syrian nations and kingdoms of the Gĕlâwĕyân, and they became tributary unto him. And after these things he lay sick upon his couch, and knowing that he should die, he called unto him his officers who were of noble birth and who had been brought up with him from his childhood, and divided his kingdom among them while he was yet alive. So Alexander reigned twelve years and died.

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[1] Read ከቲን ፡

III.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT ACCORDING TO JOHN MADABBAR.

(See Zotenberg, Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou, pp. 57, 58, 282, 283.)

Now when Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, had become king, he founded the great city of Alexandria in the country of Egypt, and he called it Alexandria after his own name; now the old name of the place was in the language of the Egyptians "Rakoti." And after this he made war against the country of Persia. And he came to the border of Europe (?), and founded there a place wherein to gather together his soldiers and all his armies; here he gave much money to the generals of his army, and to all his governors, and to the multitudes of his soldiers; and he called that place Chrysopolis, and thus it is called by all the Byzantines. And when Alexander made war against Persia, he slew multitudes of Darius' army and exterminated them. Then he took all Darius' kingdom and ruled over it, and he also captured his daughter, who was called Roxana, and she was a virgin, and he married her and did no evil unto her. And he treated graciously the Abyssinian queen, whose name was Candace, because of her wisdom and under-

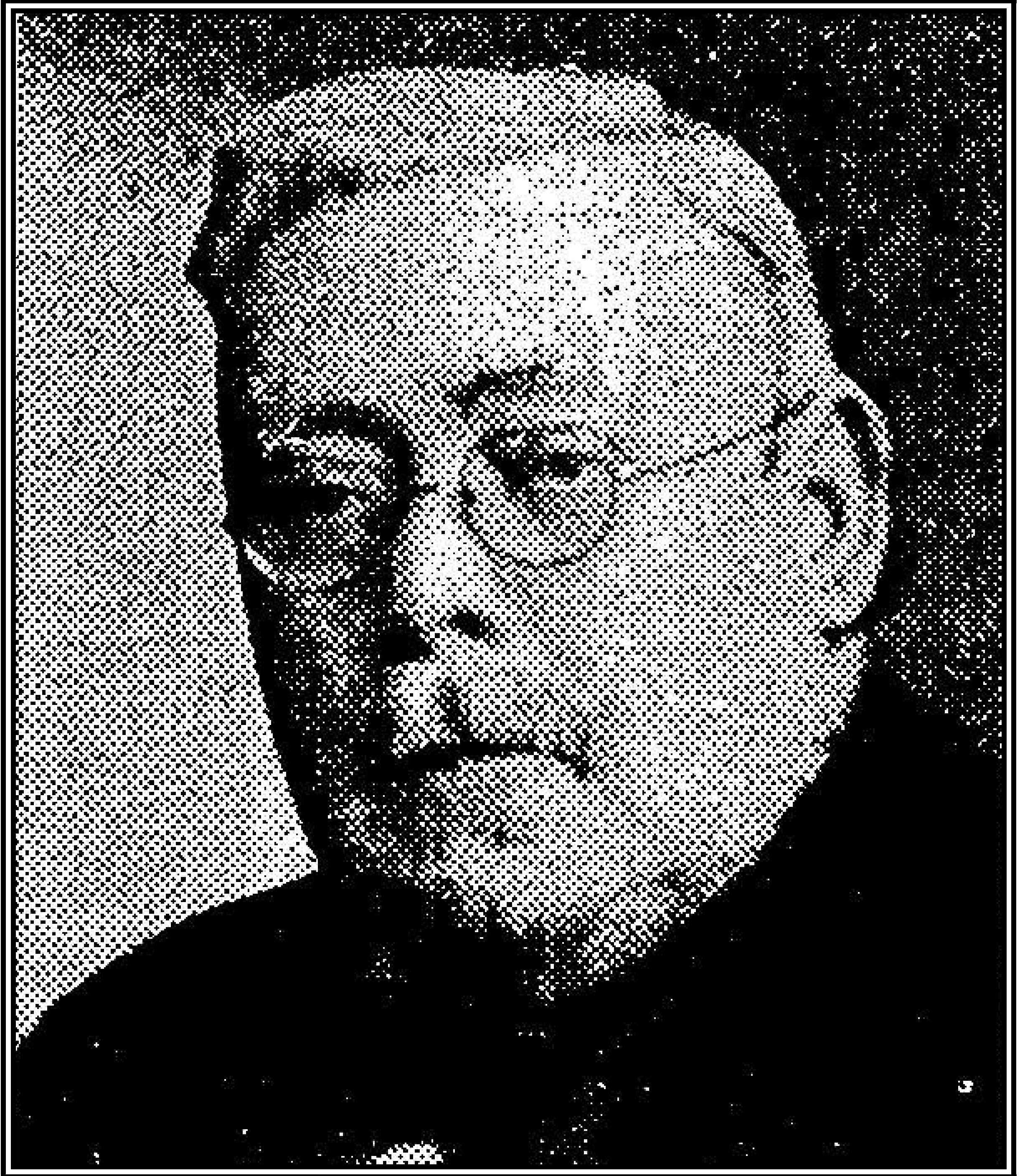
standing. Now Candace had heard of the mighty deeds of Alexander and of his habit of mingling with the spies when he wished to make war upon the kings of the earth. And queen Candace recognized him when he came to her with the spies, and she laid hold of him and said unto him, "Thou thyself art Alexander the king, who "hast captured the [p. 383] whole world, but thou "art thyself this day captured by a woman." And Alexander said unto her, "Thou hast captured me "by thy knowledge, and clever understanding, and "wisdom; from this day forward I will protect "thee and thy children from all harm, and I will "make thee my wife." And when Candace heard these words she bowed down at his feet, and made a treaty of peace with him, and he took her to wife. And it came to pass after these things that the Abyssinians submitted to him.

And when Alexander was dying he divided his kingdom among his four friends who had been his allies in the war. Philip, his elder brother, took the country of Macedonia and became king therein, and over all Europe also; and Alexander made Ptolemy, who was surnamed Lagus, king over the country of Egypt.

BIBLE PASSAGES QUOTED OR REFERRED TO IN THE ALEXANDER STORY.

INDEX.

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